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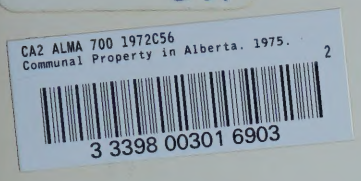

Communal Property In Alberta

DEPARTMENT OF MUNICIPAL AFFAIRS
SPECIAL ADVISORY OFFICE

COMMITTEE ON COMMUNAL PROPERTY AND LAND USE

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INTRODUCTION

Because of the continuing interest in the Hutterian way of life and its impact on Canadian society in general, and that of Alberta and other prairie provinces in particular, it was felt that information should be prepared with a view to informing the non-specialist and interested citizen about certain aspects of the Hutterian Church. What follows is essentially the **Report on Communal Property 1972** of the Select Committee of the Alberta Legislature, edited in such a way so as to eliminate those parts of the Report which would appeal essentially to the specialist or to the person who is interested in a more complete picture. In certain places, additional information has been added in order to clarify those points which seemed to prompt additional inquiries from readers of the full Report.

The Hutterian Brethren have been the focus of controversy almost from the start of their residence in North America. Part of the controversy is a result of the value conflict which exists between the larger society and the Brethren, and part of the controversy is because of changes which have and are occurring in rural society on the prairies. As a result of this controversy there have been numerous studies by legislatures or government agencies about the Hutterian impact on the larger society. Since the closed nature of Hutterian society has enabled them to resist many changes occuring in the rural areas, the Brethren have been the subject of many investigations by scholars.

The information contained in the following chapters is a result of the two types of investigations though it remains largely the conclusion of the 1972 Select Committee of the Alberta Legislature.

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2. HISTORY OF THE HUTTERIAN BRETHREN, TO 1918

In the early years of the Reformation, several groups of Christians broke away from the strict followers of Luther and Zwingli, and because of their belief in adult baptism, became known as "Anabaptists". One of these groups, the Swiss Brethren, established a church in Zurich in 1525, and their beliefs included, besides adult baptism, the view that Christians should separate themselves from wordly affairs, and the belief in non-resistance.

In 1525, the Peasants' Revolt in Germany, led by militant groups of Anabaptists, was crushed, and all Anabaptists, militant or pacifist, were persecuted. The Swiss Brethren fled for their lives — some to the mountains of Austrian Tyrol, with Jacob Hutter as one of their leaders. Some fled to Moravia in present-day Czechoslovakia, where Jacob Widemann became the leader of a group which believed in practicing communal living, in accordance with the pattern as described in the second chapter of the Book of Acts. Jacob Hutter, whose group was being persecuted by the authorities in Vienna, visited Widemann's settlement in Austerlitz, Moravia, in 1529, and was so favorably impressed that he advised his followers to seek refuge by joining the group in Moravia. Hutter himself came to Moravia in 1533, and because of his gift for leadership, he soon replaced Widemann as the head of the congregation. Another Anabaptist Revolt in Munster, in 1534-35, led to the persecution of all Anabaptists in Moravia, and subsequently Hutter was burned at the stake at Innsbruck in 1536. In only three years, however, Hutter had established a discipline for his church, and many of his principles are the basis of the way of life for the Hutterian Brethren in Alberta today. *(1)*

The persecutions continued intermittently in Moravia until 1564, when Maximilian II acceded to the throne. From then until the Thirty Years War (1618 - 1648), the Hutterites enjoyed the "Golden Time" *(2)* of their church. Hutterite colonies were pillaged during the Thirty Years War, and fifteen to twenty thousand Hutterites were forced to scatter into other lands, such as Hungary and Transylvania. In Hungary, the Hutterites became converted to Catholicism through a special agreement with the Jesuits. The Transylvanian Hutterites resisted persecution until 1767, when the remaining few — sixty-seven — were forced to flee to Wallachia, and eventually settled near Bucharest. Once again, war — this time between Russia and Turkey — meant that Hutterite colonies were raided by soldiers, and the Hutterites looked for a more peaceful land.

In 1770, all the Hutterites in Wallachia took advantage of an invitation extended by Catherine the Great of Russia to German settlers, to settle unimproved areas in Russia. The Hutterites were exempted from military service, and enjoyed relative prosperity until 1870, when the Hutterian military exemption was withdrawn. In 1873, two Hutterite delegates travelled to the United States to investigate the possibility of establishing Hutterite colonies there. Both railway and government officials pressured the Hutterites to move to the United States, and a railway official arranged for one of the delegates to meet with President Grant. The President pointed out that the U.S. Constitution guaranteed freedom of religion, but that no groups could be given a special military service exemption. He thought, however, that a war requiring military service would not occur during the next fifty years.

The delegates were satisfied with the prospects of a move to the United States, and by 1879 the remaining 100 Hutterian Brethren families in Russian had emigrated to the United States, settling near Yankton, South Dakota. Fifty of the families took advantage of the federal government's Homestead Act, and selected private farms. Most of them have since become members of Mennonite churches. The remaining fifty families established three Hutterite colonies: Bon Homme, eighteen miles west of Yankton; Wolf Creek, forty-five miles northwest of Yankton; and Old Elm Spring, twenty miles northwest of Bon Homme. The latter two colonies are the parent colonies of all Hutterite colonies in Alberta, which are divided into two groups: **Dariusleut** and **Lehrerleut.**

The leader of the group that settled at Bon Homme was Michael Waldner, a blacksmith by trade, and the colonies which have stemmed from Bon Homme are known as the **Schmiedeleut** or "Smith's Group". The leader of the Wolf Creek colony was Darius Walter, and the Wolf Creek daughter colonies are known as **Dariusleut.** The third group of colonies, stemming from Old Elm Spring, are known as **Lehrerleut** because the Old Elm Spring leader, Jacob Wipf, was a teacher, or **lehrer.** *(3)*

The U.S. Hutterite colonies prospered, and by 1918 there were six **Schmiedeleut** colonies, seven **Dariusleut** colonies, and seven **Lehrerleut** colonies in South Dakota. However, World War I brought another wave of persecution to the Hutterites.

The Hutterites, true to their religious beliefs, would not enter into military service, but they did report to camps for "conscientious objectors". Here, their beards were clipped by force, and they were assigned the most disagreeable tasks. *(4)* Two young Hutterites died in the camp, allegedly as a result of mistreatment by camp authorities. *(5)* Some of the Hutterites who remained on the colonies were subjected to harassment by groups of patriotic, and righteously indignant American citizens. Hutterites were tarred and feathered, and Hutterian cattle and other property were forcibly confiscated, sold, and the proceeds used to buy Liberty bonds. It seems that the Hutterites have never been reimbursed for these losses. *(6)*

The Hutterian Brethren now looked to Canada for a new homeland. Between 1918 and 1920, the **Schmiedeleut** group founded eight colonies in Manitoba, while the **Dariusleut** and **Lehrerleut** groups set up their new colonies in Alberta: seven of the former, and five of the latter. *(7)*

3. HUTTERITES IN ALBERTA

The history of the Hutterites in Alberta involves two major themes: the development and growth of Hutterite colonies, and the difficulties encountered by the Hutterites and by other rural Albertans in their relations with one another.

Concern about the Hutterite farms at first centered around two issues: the Hutterite education system, and the Hutterian belief in pacifism.

The education issue arose soon after the first colonies were established. As the colonies settled in the Lethbridge, Macleod and Rockyford areas, school inspectors were dispatched to explain the Alberta education laws. The elders were accustomed to having teachers recruited from outside their United States colonies, and naturally co-operated with the Department of Education. They could, by law, set up their own one-room schools, which were not too different from the rural schools around them. In 1920, the school inspector at Macleod reported that the Hutterites were co-operating with Alberta's education system, and that attendance was regular. *(8)*

However, 1920 marked the year in which the non-Hutterian community voiced its first dissatisfaction with the Brethren. Some of the established settlers near Hutterite colonies objected to sending their children to public schools on Hutterite colonies, and objected to paying taxes to such schools.

In 1927 the issue re-appeared in reverse: the Hutterites from the new Pincher Creek colony proceeded to withdraw their lands from the consolidated school division, as they had the right to set up their own school districts under Alberta law.

The U.F.A. M.L.A., Earl Cook, led a protest against this move, claiming that the Pincher Creek school district needed the Hutterian school taxes, and that the Hutterites should be assimilated through the existing schools. *(9)* The protest was supported by the Town of Pincher Creek, the Board of Trade, the School District, the Municipal District of Kerr, and the Canadian Legion, the I.O.D.E., and the Women's Institute. The dispute simmered for two years, through a public meeting, and representations to the provincial government. While the Hutterites continued to co-operate with provincial education officials, they became increasingly unwilling to send their children to outside schools, because of the avowed intent of many members of the majority culture to destroy the Hutterian way of life through indoctrinating Hutterite children in the schools.

Throughout the depression, the Department of Education continued to receive reports of good progress in colony schools. Moreover, in the Lethbridge school inspectorate, of eighty-seven school districts, only three were free of tax arrears: three Hutterite colonies near Magrath. *(10)*

Not all the colony schools, however, fared better during the depression than the schools of the majority culture. In 1933, the Granum colony submitted a request to the Daly Creek School ratepayers. Since the colony paid local school taxes, and at the same time operated a private school which it was now financially unable to maintain, the Hutterites asked that their children be admitted to the Daly Creek school. The Daly Creek teacher, Edwin Pitt, supported the request at a public meeting attended by Hutterites and other ratepayers, on the grounds that it was through the Hutterite children that the Hutterites could be assimilated. Shocked by this suggestion, the Hutterite elders withdrew their request. It should be noted that this incident kindled Mr. Pitt's interest in the Hutterian situation, with the result that he eventually wrote his master's thesis on the Hutterian Brethren in Alberta. Perhaps indicative of the process whereby a greater knowledge of the background of the Hutterian Brethren often leads to a greater tolerance for their way of life, Mr. Pitt showed a much more sympathetic approach to the Brethren in his thesis than at the Daly Creek incident.

At the beginning of the Thirties, the Government of Alberta was opposed to allowing Hutterite colonies in the U.S. to move to Alberta. By the middle of the decade, however, Brownlee's government, sensitive to the views of rural and municipal organizations, urged the federal government to allow the Hutterites to immigrate. Due to the depressed conditions, local residents in Southern Alberta wished to sell their land to the Hutterites, and moreover, the fact that the colonies were self-sufficient made them an asset to municipal organizations. *(11)*

The second issue, Hutterite pacifism, was amplified during the Second World War, as the Hutterian belief in non-resistance did not mix with the philosophy of the general public towards the European situation. Moreover, there was a good deal of misunderstanding regarding whether the Brethren were exempt from military service in Canada, a situation dating back to the turn of the century.

In 1898, the American Hutterites were experiencing harassment from the surrounding community because of their refusal to take part in the Spanish-American war. A Hutterian delegation interviewed a Canadian Commissioner of Immigration in Winnipeg, who provided them with a tour of southern Manitoba and Saskatchewn. The delegation was favorably enough impressed with Canada to recommend that settlement be proceeded with on a trial basis, providing the government guaranteed to the Brethren exemption from military service, the right to their own schools, and freedom of religion. *(12)*

The federal Department of the Interior sent an official to the Hutterite colonies in the U.S. to encourage the move to Canada. He was favorably impressed with the qualities of the Brethren: their industriousness, wealth, and religious zeal. He subsequently recommended to the Canadian government that every effort be made to persuade the Hutterites to move to Canada. As a result, Laurier's cabinet passed an Order-in-Council on August 12, 1899, providing that "The Brethren of the Hutterische Society settling permanently in Canada shall be exempted unconditionally, from service in the Militia . . . They will be allowed to establish independent schools . . . The children will not be compelled to attend other schools if their education is properly provided for". *(13)* Further, "the brethren were assured that they would not be required to take oath, or to vote or hold office, and that there would be no interference with their desire to live in colonies". *(14)* The hamlet clause in the Homestead Act permitted them to live in colonies, while affirmation could be substituted for oaths.

A Dariusleut colony was established at Dominion City, Manitoba, in 1899, but before other colonies could move to Canada, the Spanish-American war came to end. Two factors, the isolation of the Canadian colony, *(15)* and the flooding of the Red River, *(16)* induced the Hutterites at Dominion City to abandon the colony, and move back to the United States.

The persecution of the Hutterites in the United States during the First War prompted their leaders to meet with the Hon. J. A. Calder, Minister of Colonization and Immigration, in Winnipeg in 1918. Calder gave full assurance that that Hutterites would be exempt from military service, and all the colonies prepared to move to Canada. *(17)*

A number of Hutterites and some Mennonites, who had been given the same assurance of military exemption, moved to Canada during 1918. This provoked much criticism by provincial authorities and newspapers against the federal government for admitting persons who were not willing to agree to military service, and who might cause further complications in the policy of promoting English Canadian schools only while discouraging the schools of other cultures. (During the war, linquistic rights of minorities were rescinded in favor of English only schools). The federal government eventually bowed to public pressure, and on April 8, 1919, the Cabinet rescinded the Order-in-Council of 1899. Furthermore, on May 1 of the same year, the Cabinet passed another Order-in-Council prohibiting entry into Canada of "Immigrants deemed undesirable owing to their peculiar customs, habits, modes of living and methods of holding property and because of their probable inability to become readily assimilated or to assume the duties and responsibilities of Canadian citizenship within a reasonable time." *(18)*

However, by this time all but one quarter to one third of the Hutterites had moved to Canada. Some of the colonies had sold their land in the United States, so that those remaining in the United States were stranded. Finally, the Department of Immigration and Colonization agreed to admit to Canada close relatives of the Hutterites who had already settled there, but a good many Hutterites remained in the United States.

By 1922, some of the anti-pacifist feeling had diminished, and another reversal of policy came. The Cabinet rescinded the Order-in-Council of May 1, 1919, and there followed a reunion of Hutterian families in Canada. (Two Hutterite colonies chose to remain in the United States, and have since expanded in that country as well as in Canada.)

By the start of the Second World War the Hutterites were subject to the same exemptions from military service as any other religious group. Conscientious objectors could be exempted from military service so long as they were willing to accept alternative service. Not only were the Hutterites willing to comply with alternative service, but war bonds were bought and no interest was accepted, and the Red Cross received generous donations from the Hutterites. *(19)*

The Hutterites, however, did not understand why the federal government's promise that the Hutterites should be "exempt **unconditionally** from service in the Militia" had been abrogated. They did not realize that Orders-in-Council were dependent upon Parliament for their authority, or that governments could change their minds from time to time. In 1940, federal authorities stated that earlier orders-in-Council were merely confirmations of existing legislation:

> Orders-in-Council that were passed relating to Mennonites, Hutterites and Doukhobors did not create any exemption from military service that was not already existing in the law. All exemption from military service which exists now or has existed since Confederation is by statute not by Order-in-Council . . . The question will naturally arise at this point, why then were the Orders-in-Council passed. The answer is that certain people who were opposed to military service desired to migrate, and wanted to be assured that in Canada the law provided exemption from military service. The Orders-in-Council were passed to give this assurance. *(20)*

This comment, however, does not explain why the Order-in-Council of 1899 mentioned "unconditional exemption" from military service, or why this Order-in-Council had to be rescinded and replaced by an Order-in-Council to prevent the immigration of Hutterites, or why that Order-in-Council, itself, was rescinded. The reason, in each case, appears to have been political expediency, and the Hutterian Brethren, in each case, were among those affected.

In 1940, another Order-in-Council was passed, this time to postpone the military training of members of the Mennonite and Doukhobor sects, who had come under the provisions of earlier Orders-in-Council. It did not appear to be opportune, however, to include the Hutterian Brethren at this time.

To this day, the Hutterian Brethren in Alberta refer to the Order-in-Council of 1899 as a treasured document setting out the terms of their immigration to Canada. They regard the education rights and military service exemption mentioned in the Order-in-Council as an honest and enduring agreement, and they view the abandonment of that agreement by either division of government in Canada as a breach of faith. *(21)*

The fact that the Hutterites claimed exemption from military service caused bitter feelings against them. The Canadian Legion, farmers groups and mass meetings of protest in some Alberta towns pressured the Alberta government to enact the Land Sales Prohibition Act in 1942. The Act prohibited the sale of land to Hutterites and enemy aliens, and in 1943 it was amended to prevent the leasing of land to such persons. However, in the same year, the Act was declared **ultra vires** by the courts because of reference to "aliens". Another Land Sales Prohibition Act was passed in 1944, making specific reference only to Hutterites and Doukhobors, and it remained in effect until 1947, when the Act was due to expire. *(22)*

Continued controversy led the Alberta legislature to appoint a committee to study the Hutterite question early in 1947. Briefs submitted to the Committee opposed Hutterite expansion because of the education and pacifism issues, *(23)* and pointed to fears that the Hutterite colonies would eventually come to occupy excessively large portions of Alberta farmland. Objections were raised that the Hutterites did not take part in traditional community activites.

The members of the Committee, Ivan Casey, M.L.A. (of High River, Chairman), L. C. Halmrast, M.L.A. (of Lucky Strike), H. B. Macdonald, M.L.A., and F. C. Colborne, M.L.A. (both of Calgary), agreed that the objections to the Hutterites presented in the briefs were valid, and they made the following recommendation:

> It is our considered opinion that the conditions which prompted the passing of the Land Sales Prohibition Act still exist, and that the communal form of living will

continue to be a matter of concern to the people of Alberta unless regulations can be applied which will, in the public interest, control the expansion or increase of communal groups. *(24)*

Subsequently, the Alberta legislature passed the Communal Property Act, which was in effect until its repeal in March 1973. The original Act limited the amount of land that a colony could own to 6,400 acres, or to the original acreage if a greater amount was owned before March 1, 1944. It was thought prudent not to allow the establishment of any new Hutterite colonies south of Calgary, where most of the colonies were concentrated, and where the greatest anti-Hutterite sentiment was encountered. It was decided that any new colonies would have to be at least forty miles from an existing colony, which would effectively force the Hutterites to establish new colonies north of Red Deer. The Act also stipulated that any land which the Hutterites proposed to buy would have to be offered on the open market for at least sixty days according to the provisions of the Veterans' Land Act. *(25)*

The Communal Property Act was amended in 1951 to allow the Lieutenant Governor in Council to make regulations dividing the Province into soil zones according to the productivity of the land, and setting maximum acreages which the Hutterites could own in each soil zone. This permitted the Hutterites to own more land in areas where soils were poorer.

Until 1953, Hutterite land purchases were made in accordance with the Communal Property Act. However, by that year, it became so difficult for the Hutterites to acquire adequate land that the Act began to be circumvented by means of "entering into lease agreement, hire agreements and lease options". *(26)* In some instances individual members of colonies purchased land for the colonies in their own names.

This illegal expansion of Hutterite colonies prompted those opposed to the Hutterites to protest to the Provincial Government, and in the fall of 1958, the government established a Hutterite Investigation Committee.*(27)* This committee of three was charged with the responsibility of investigating whether the Communal Property Act was in the best interests of the agricultural community, recommending changes in the Act, reporting on the adequacy of Hutterite education and "any other matter relevant to the orderly and harmonious integration of members of the Hutterian Church into local communities". *(28)*

The committee visited Hutterite colonies in Alberta, Saskatchewan and Manitoba, studied literature relating to the Brethren, received briefs from the public, and held public hearings in Lethbridge, Calgary, and Edmonton. *(29)*.

The committee was faced by two major conditions. The first was that the terms of reference prescribed by the government stressed the goal of eventual assimilation of the Hutterites. The second was that at the time of the committee's investigation, research had not revealed factual information concerning some very important matters, such as whether the Hutterite colonies were well-managed, or whether the colonies were an economic asset to the province compared to the farmers which they sometimes replace. *(30)*

The committee's conclusion was as follows:

On the basis of information at the disposal of the committee, it is unanimous in its opinion that some form of regulation governing the acquisition of lands by Hutterites for the purpose of establishing communal settlements is necessary and in the interests of the agricultural industry as a whole . . .

Throughout this report the committee has endeavored to emphasize that the assimilation of a religious sect exhibiting such strong social cohesion as the Hutterian Brethren will take time and patience.

Official restrictions placed upon these people over the centuries would seem to indicate that the process of integration has been retarded rather than advanced by such measures.

In the opinion of the committee then, the solution of problems that have arisen in this province over the past years lies in other approaches. The appointment of a Board with discretionary powers and also acting in a consultative and advisory capacity would appear to be the answer. *(31)*

According to the 1972 Select Committee the view of the 1958 Hutterite Investigation Committee that legislative restrictions on the acquisition of lands by the Hutterites were necessary and in the interests of the agricultural industry as a whole' did not necessarily apply in the 1970's.

The 1972 Select Committee also disagrees with one of the principles in the terms of reference of the Hutterite Investigation Committee, which emphasised the eventual intergation and assimilation of the Hutterites. The 1972 Committee, rather, favoured a policy of co-operation and coexistence, and at the same time (on the basis of more facts than the previous committee had at its disposal) recognised that the Hutterite colonies in Alberta make an important contribution to the Agricultural industry of our Province. A more comprehensive statement of the present committee's conclusion is contained in Chapter 9 of this report.

As a result of the Hutterite Investigation Committee's report, which was released in September, 1959, the Communal Property Board was established in an amendment to the Act of 1960. Any Hutterite colony wanting to increase its land holdings or to establish a new colony was required to apply to the Board. The Board had the power to determine whether the proposed land acquisition was within the terms of the Act (which limited size of colonies to 10 sections, 16 sections, or 24 sections, according to land productivity), and whether it was "in the public interest". *(32)* The Board had the right to grant permission for a colony to acquire more land within these terms, but approval for land acquisition for new colonies had to be obtained from the Cabinet after application to the Board. The policy in 1970 with regard to new colonies was that there should be no more than two colonies in an average sized Municipal District, that the colonies should be at least fifteen miles apart, and that no more than five percent of the assessable farmland in a municipality should come under communal ownership. *(33)*

It should be noted that the amendment to the Communal Act in 1960 did not conform to all of the recommendations of the Hutterite Investigation Committee. The 1958 Committee did not recommend that applications for new colonies should be approved by the Cabinet, and that the Communal Property Control Board would only be an advisory body in this matter. According to the 1972 Report, had the 1958 Committee's recommendations been adopted, a good many of the political problems surrounding the establishment of new colonies would have been avoided. As long as the Cabinet had the power to approve or disapprove new colonies, certain segments of the public which opposed the establishment of new colonies, on emotional rather than factual grounds, were likely to continue to attempt to influence the Cabinet's decision by bringing the pressure of public opinion to bear on the government. Under such conditions, it was extremely

difficult to determine what course of action was "in the public interest". The 1960 amendment also failed to take into consideration the Hutterite Investigation Committee's recommendation that the Board should play a public relations role. The 1972 Select Committee strongly agreed with that particular recommendation of the Hutterite Investigation Committee. Had the Board or some other body been charged with a public relations role, and had that body been effective in this role, it is conceivable that much of the public misunderstanding of the Hutterian Brethren could have been dispelled and the problem overcome.

From 1960 to 1962, the Board was required to hold a Public Hearing when considering an application to establish a new Hutterite colony. This procedure tended to encourage displays of bitter emotion, and the mandatory public hearings were abolished in 1962. After 1962, the Board merely received submissions from people concerned, and after investigation, made its recommenations to the cabinet.

Although the Hutterite Investigation Committee had recommended steps to aid the assimilation of the Hutterites, the government of Alberta, since 1960, seems to have thought in terms of co-existence. *(34)* The Act was an attempt to deal with the friction generated in some areas where Hutterite colonies are located.

Since 1960, two important developments have taken place which affect the relations between the Hutterites and the majority culture: the Hutterites appear to have become more generally accepted by Albertans, and, parallel to this improvement in relations, the Hutterites have taken a greater part in matters pertaining to various governmental authorities which affect them.

In regard to the first development, Mr. E. F. Breach, former Chairman of the Communal Property Control Board, reported in 1970 that "problems connected with the growth of the colonies have lessened considerably within the last five years due to a better understanding of the government's policy in the matter of controlling colony expansions. This policy has also led colonies into better communication between themselves and the general public." *(35)* In a letter to Mr. R. W. Dowling, Chairman of the 1972 Select Committee, on July 12, 1972, Dr. John A. Hostetler, noted authority on the Hutterian Brethren, observed that, "During the past ten years there has been an enormous improvement in public relations and the development of a sensitivity of human rights on the part of the public." *(36)*

Members of the 1972 Committee who visited communities in proximity to Hutterite colonies reported conversations with farmers living near colonies who recall that, while at first they had not reacted favorably towards the establishment of a Hutterite colony in their area, over the years they had come to know the Hutterites, and now regarded them as good neighbors.

Because there have been no continuing studies of public opinion concerning the Hutterites conducted in Alberta (other than social distance studies), it is impossible to account accurately for the direction or intensity of the change of attitude towards the Hutterites. The briefs submitted to the 1972 Committee cannot be said to reflect correctly public opinion, because an invitation for briefs tends to attract response only from the segment of the public which is strongly enough motivated, for various reasons, to offer an opinion. While 70% of briefs submitted to the 1972 Committee favored the maintenance of some restrictions on the growth of Hutterite colonies, 45% of the briefs submitted by individual persons (excluding Hutterites) expressed favorable sentiments towards the Hutterites. *(37)* It is important to note that of the forty-two briefs submitted by individual persons expressing negative sentiments towards the Hutterites, twenty-eight listed information which, in the opinion of the 1972 Committee, was erroneous. This would indicate that there still seems to exist a fair amount of public misunderstanding of the Hutterites.

That members of the Hutterian Brethren Church are taking a greater part in community life in Alberta is perhaps most vividly illustrated by the fact that some Hutterites voted in recent provincial and municipal elections. Moreover, some Hutterites have, for the past few years, attended annual ratepayers' meetings. These developments may reflect a greater trust by Hutterites of the institutions of the majority culture, after living in close proximity to that culture for a number of years.

At a meeting between some of the Hutterian elders and the 1972 Select Committee on August 9, 1972, the elders affirmed their intention "to attend meetings where issues are to be discussed which may directly or indirectly affect them as good citizens of Alberta." At the meeting, the elders pointed out to the Committee that a good many of them attend functions such as marketing board meetings.

One other important governmental institution which the Hutterian Brethren have begun to use is the court system. Two cases in which the Hutterian Brethren have taken an active part have reached the Supreme Court of Canada.

In the middle sixties, six Hutterites and nine non-Hutterites were charged with violating the Communal Property Act by engaging in land sales to individual Hutterites, near Brant, Alberta, for use by the Rock Lake colony. Counsel for the Hutterites sought a declaration that the Communal Property Act was **ultra vires** the legislature of Alberta, as it dealt with religion, the freedom of which was protected by the Canadian Bill of Rights. *(38)* The case was brought before Justice Milvain of the Trial Division of the Alberta Supreme Court in November, 1965, and was dismissed. *(39)* This decision was appealed to the Appellate Division of the Supreme Court of Alberta a year later, *(40)* and to the Supreme Court of Canada two years after that, *(41)* and was dismissed in each instance on the grounds that the Communal Property Act was essentially a law dealing with land tenure in the province, and therefore was **intra vires** the legislature of Alberta, because the Canadian Bill of Rights only applies to matters which are within the ambit of federal government responsibilities. It was found that the infringement complained of was not an infringement which could be classified under "religious freedom".

Each of the three judges who wrote opinions on the appeal to the Appellate Division mentioned that they had reviewed the committee reports of 1944 and 1959, which provided background information to elucidate the "true purpose" *(42)* of the legislation. The possible inadequacy of the reports was mentioned, *(43)* although it is doubtful whether more adequate information would have affected the decision. The Communal Property Act is within the ambit of provincial jurisdiction, as it refers to the holding of land within the province, which is a power given to the province under Section 92 *(13)* of the B.N.A. Act. At that time, nothing prevented such provincial laws from being discriminatory. Since the Brant decision, Alberta has passed a Bill of Rights, which, superseding other legislation in the Province, meant the Communal Property Act appeared a contravention and hence the Act was repealed.

While waiting for the Brant case to be heard before the Supreme Court of Canada in 1967, the Hutterites appealed a decision of the Communal Property Control Board, and won. *(44)* Section 16 (1) of the Communal Property Act provided for appeal of decisions of the Communal Pro-

perty Board to a district court, and under Section 16 (8), "the decision of the judge is final and there shall be no further appeal".

In this case, the Castor colony had made application to the Board to purchase a parcel of land near their colony, but not adjoining the colony. The Board turned down the application, stating that although the proposed acquisition would be within the acreage limits as defined in the Act, the proposed acquisition would not be "in the public interest", because it was the policy of the Board to maintain the colonies as consolidated property, and because the Board had received a number of letters from persons strongly opposing the sale. However, John Decore, chief judge of the District Court of Alberta, overruled the Board on the grounds that if the application were approved, it had not been proven that any person's pecuniary interest or legal rights would be adversely affected. *(45)* The judge pointed out that the "public interest" is not the interest of one individual, but that of the community as a whole.

Another case involving Hutterites, which was appealed to the Supreme Court of Canada, concerned a group of Hutterites in Manitoba, and since this case has obvious ramifications in Alberta, it is mentioned here. Several of the **Schmiedeleut** brethren at the Interlake colony became involved with an organization known as the "Radio Church of God". As the beliefs of the Radio Church of God conflicted with the tenets of the Hutterian Church, those who became influenced by the Radio Church of God were expelled from the colony, and, according to the articles of association of the Hutterian Church, they left the colony with no share of the colony's assets. The group which had been expelled sued for a declaration that their expulsion was invalid, and asked that the affairs of the colony be wound up, and the assets distributed equally among all members of the colony. The Supreme Court dismissed the appeal, on the grounds that the articles of association, which the appellants had signed, provided for the expulsion of those members who had abandoned the Hutterian faith with no remuneration. *(46)*

In the late sixties, the **Dariusleut** group in Alberta appealed their income tax payments to the federal Tax Review Board, on the grounds that, as a religious organization, they should be exempt from income tax payments to the same extent as other religious organizations. Up to this time, the **Dariusleut** group, along with the **Lehrerleut** group, had paid income tax for a number of years according to an agreement with the Minister of National Revenue. According to the agreement, the total income of the colony was divided by the number of members over 19, to arrive at the income per member. *(47)* For each member, a taxable income and tax payable was calculated. The individual taxes were totalled for the colony, and each colony paid income tax as a lump sum. This arrangement attempted to reconcile the religious belief of the Hutterites in communal ownership with the right of the federal and provincial governments to collect income taxes. After 1968, however, the **Dariusleut** group was not assessed for income tax pending the outcome of the appeal, although the **Lehrerleut** group continued to pay the tax. In February, 1972, the Tax Review Board dismissed the appeal, and this decision was immediately appealed to the Federal Court.

It would seem that the 1972 Select Committee came to the conclusion that most of the friction between the Hutterites and other rural Albertans has centered around the education issue, rather than around communal owership of land. Although the Brant case involved the vailidity of the Communal Property Act, it is likely that the major contentious issue for the people of the village of Brant was concern about the fate of their small school. An organization called the Southern Alberta Development and Protective Association was formed. For several years it struggled to prevent the opening of a Hutterite school on the Brant colony on the grounds that the Brant public school needed the Hutterite children to keep the school from being phased out, and to prevent the inevitable bussing of the Brant children to a central school. The group attempted to persuade the Department of Education to draw up a plan with the "objective of integration of Hutterites". *(48)* The Association failed in both these objectives, but is still active in promoting the continuance of restrictions on Hutterite colonies, and in recommending changes in the Hutterite school system.

Since the minimum school leaving age was changed from 15 to 16 in 1966, there have been several disputes between school boards and Hutterite colonies with regard to Hutterite children leaving school at age 15. In the Hutterite church, the children become adults, but not full members of the church, at age 15, and at this time, begin to apprentice with one of the colony bosses. A good many of the colonies were not willing to change this tradition in deference to the change in education laws. Some of the school boards, but not all, exempted Hutterite children from attendance when they reached fifteen years of age. However, in 1969, Rev. Martin Walter, of the Springpoint colony, spent ten days in jail after being convicted of refusing to send his fifteen-year-old son to school.

The new School Act came into effect in 1970, and the school leaving age remained at 16. Under Section 134 of the Act, it is possible for boards, inspectors or superintendents to exempt children from attendance under certain conditions, but these conditions were not really meant to apply to Hutterite colonies. Since 1970, not all fifteen-year-old Hutterites have been treated uniformly: some have been exempted from attendance, others have attended school until they become sixteen, and the parents of others have been prosecuted. On March 30, 1971, Paul Stahl of the Cayley coloney was convicted of violating the School Act, and the judgement was immediately appealed. In the meantime, the superintendent of schools for the region and the Hutterites of Cayley agreed that children would be allowed to withdraw at the age of 15, providing they remained for the duration of the term which they had begun. The appeal was dropped, and pending cases against two other parents were dropped. With the passage of the Alberta Bill of Rights, Hutterites looked to some solution to disputes involving compulsory education.

It is interesting to note that in 1972, the United States Supreme Court found that the Amish people were entitled to withdraw their children from school after completing the eighth grade, on the grounds that religious freedom as protected by the Constitution took precedence over state laws regarding education. *(49)*

At the present time, most school boards have reached agreements with Hutterite colonies to operate public schools on the colonies. If, because of a shortage of pupils, any Hutterite school becomes a burden to local taxpayers, the school board may make arrangements to require the colony to pay a supplementary requisition for the upkeep of their school. However, since 1970, for various reasons a few school authorities have been unable to operate a public school on the Hutterite colonies, leaving the colonies with two other alternatives: they could establish a private school on the colony or the children could attend a public school off the colony.

The present policy of the Department of Education is that correspondence centres should not be encouraged.

One final comment should be made on the situation which led to the inquiry of the 1972 Select Committee. In 1971, the Communal Property Control Board approved the application of the Handhills Hutterian Brethren to establish a new colony at Verdant Valley. Towards the end of 1971, the government approved the application, and was immediately subjected to protests from persons in the Verdant Valley area, who were opposed to the establishment of a second Hutterite colony in the Starland municipality. The local citizens suggested that the Communal Property Board's interpretation of "the public interest" appeared to have changed over the years.

Faced with this situation, and with the possibility that that Communal Property Act may violate the spirit of the proposed Alberta Bill of Rights, the government suspended the Communal Property Control Board on December 8, 1971, and proposed a motion in the spring session of the Legislature in 1972 that a Select Committee of the Assembly be established with instructions to:

> . . . investigate the effects of the communal use of land on the economic and social climate of Alberta; and to recommend such changes in policy and legislation, relative to the communal use of land, as may be deemed appropriate. *(50)*

It was the opinion of the 1972 Committee that relations between the Hutterian Brethren and the Alberta society have improved somewhat over the years. The original contentious issues, pacifism and education, no longer hold the degree of importance they once did, although there is still a good deal of misunderstanding concerning the Hutterites. The education issue has been settled to some degree by the provision in the Education Act which makes it possible for local school boards to assess Hutterite colonies for a supplementary requisition if they are a financial burden to the school division. However, it was felt by the 1972 Committee that the matter of Hutterite education required further study. The restrictions on the expansion of Hutterite colonies have gradually lessened over the years since the Second World War when the most restrictive legislation was passed. This appears to be indicative of a growing public acceptance of the Hutterites. All the information which the 1972 Committee had collected indicated that the Hutterite colonies then established in Alberta have had no disproportionate adverse effect on local communities, although the colonies have caused some changes in the nature of economic and social patterns. The 1972 Committee was of the opinion that the time had come to repeal the present restrictive legislation which applies mainly to the Hutterites, although it felt there was a definite need for a liaison function to promote understanding and co-operation, to advise the Hutterites, and to advise the government if any unforeseen difficulties occur.

4. THE HUTTERITES OUTSIDE OF ALBERTA

A. Saskatchewan:

Hutterite colonies from Alberta began to establish daughter colonies in Saskatchewan in 1952, and local opposition to the colonies came immediately. In order to collect information and advice, the Saskatchewan government subsidized a study of the Hutterite colonies in that province, conducted by the Saskatchewan Branch of the Canadian Mental Health Association. The Association's study recommended that information on Hutterites be made available to communities where the colonies were planning to establish. Several articles subsequently appeared in local newspapers, but no continuing information program was established. By 1956, further opposition to the establishment of new colonies by such groups as the Legion and the Saskatchewan Association of Rural Municipalities was encountered, and the government established a Committee on Hutterite Settlement under the leadership of the Honourable John Sturdy, Minister of Social Welfare and Rehabilitiation. *(51)* The Committee financed a study of the Hutterite situation by two members of the Adult Education Division in January of 1957. *(52)* The study reported that there was a great deal of anti-Hutterite feeling among persons living in areas where colonies had established, and that, although very few persons were actively anti-Hutterite, "a few determined individuals could carry the bulk of the population along in discriminatory action if they set about to exploit the feeling presently existing in the area . . ." *(53)* The study pointed out that the majority of complaints about the Hutterites were unfounded, and that "...community people are using the colonies as scapegoats upon which to project the tensions and anxieties caused by changing conditions in rural Saskatchewan." *(54)* In order to prevent a serious situation from developing in the future, the study recommended that the government:

(a) establish a Provincial Committee on Hutterites, to "formulate, direct and co-ordinate provincial programming", *(55)*
(b) finance an intensive, year-long study of "Hutterite-Community relations", *(56)* and
(c) establish local joint committees, to provide accurate information, and promote co-operation. *(57)*

In May, 1957, the Cabinet approved the second recommendation, and Mr. V. Serl was hired to conduct the study. Shortly after Mr. Serl began his study, he concluded that the recommendation to establish local joint committees was premature, as the major problem was to allay the fear of local residents that the Hutterites would come to occupy excessively large portions of farmland in concentrated areas. In August of 1958, as a result of the efforts of Mr. Serl, the **Lehrerleut** group in Alberta and Saskatchewan signed an agreement with the Saskatchewan Government, which stated that the colonies would contact the Saskatchewan Government Hutterite Committee when any colony was contemplating establishing a new colony in the province, and that the colonies would "...approve in principle the proposition that the number of colonies in any area should be proportional to the local population in the community where such a colony is situated and further, that colonies should, if possible, locate near the large centres of population in the said province." *(58)* The **Dariusleut** group indicated their intention to follow the same procedure, and did sign a similar Memorandum of Understanding, though it was not renewed. In the beginning, the approach was meant to be flexible rather than definitive. However, the Saskatchewan Government has set out several guidelines for the colony establishment, which, in 1972 were as follows:

1. New colonies should be located at least 35 miles from one another, with the 35 miles measured from headquarters to headquarters.
2. A rule of thumb for colony is that they should not exceed 10,000 acres. Colonies may be larger, however, if located on poorer land.
3. Colonies should, as far as possible, be a single block of land.
4. If a colony plans to expand, other farmers in the area are given the chance to purchase the land in preference to it being sold to the Colony. *(59)*

When a colony plans to expand, the colony elders contact the Cabinet Committee on Hutterites through the liaison officer, appointed by the Department of Municipal Affairs. The government then decides whether or not a colony's expansion or establishment plans should be approved. Whenever the government has ruled against an application, the Hutterites have respected that decision, because of their moral obligation which resulted from signing the Memorandum of Understanding. Although not legally binding, the agreement appears to have the same effect as legislation, because of the acceptance by the Hutterites of this moral commitment. Early in 1973, the existing memorandum was to expire and a new one to be negotiated.

As of July 1, 1972, there were thirty Hutterite colonies in Saskatchewan, of which fifteen were **Dariusleut**, and fifteen **Lehrerleut**. The population was reported as 2,325, and 294,500 acres were being farmed by the Hutterites (of which 281,500 acres were owned, and 13,000 acres leased). *(60)*

B. Manitoba:

The **Schmiedeleut** group of the Hutterian Brethren began to establish colonies in Manitoba in 1918, and in the 1930's, thirteen colonies were incorporated by private bills. *(61)* In 1947, some colonies applied for incorporation but were refused because of local opposition to the Hutterites. *(62)* After the war, opposition had arisen for many of the same reasons as in Alberta, and a legislative committee was appointed in 1947. The legislature rejected the recommendation to enact legislation similar to that of Alberta, though schools were centralised under the Department of Education. During the 1950's opposition to the Brethern continued but again the government refused to enact legislation. In 1957, an agreement was reached between the **Schmiedeleut** brethren and the Union of Manitoba Municipalities, which placed severe restrictions on the expansion of the **Schmiedeleut** colonies. Except by mutual agreement between the Hutterites and a municipality, no colony could be larger than 5,120 acres, and no more than two colonies could be established in a municipality of more than 6 townships, or 1 colony in a municipality of less than 6 townships. The boundaries of colonies had to be at least ten miles apart, and regardless of the number of colonies in a municipality, Hutterite holdings in a municipality could not exceed 10,240 acres. *(63)*

In 1972, the government of the Manitoba's policy towards the Hutterites was that "they are people the same as anyone else and are entitled to the same rights, privileges and restrictions". *(64)* In accord with this policy, the government had negotiated in 1971 a sale of land to a Hutterite colony ignoring the agreement between the Manitoba Union of Municipalities and the Hutterites, which the government regarded as discriminatory. *(65)* The result of government action meant that each side began to consider negotiating a new agreement.

As of 1972, there were 48 established **Schmiedeleut** colonies in Manitoba, and four being set up. The total population was 4,660, and the colonies farmed approximately 177,000 acres of land, (of which 170,000 acres were owned, and 7,000 acres were leased). *(66)*

C. South Dakota:

All but one of the Hutterite colonies which had established in South Dakota moved to Canada between 1918 and 1920, because of persecution in the United States during the First World War. In 1935, a law was enacted in the state which was designed to "encourage Hutterites living in Canada to return to South Dakota". *(67)* The legislation, which enabled the colonies to incorporate, was repealed in 1955 because of local opposition to the Hutterites, but it did not prevent colonies from establishing as long as they did not incorporate. *(68)*

As of January 21, 1972, there were "no laws relating to the regulation of the expansion or location of Hutterite Colonies" *(69)* in South Dakota. In fact, in South Dakota recent amendments to the School Act included provisions whereby public schools could be established on colonies.

In 1968, there were 2,772 Hutterites living in 27 colonies in South Dakota, farming 145,461 acres of land. *(70)*

D. Montana:

A Hutterite colony was established at Spring Creek, Montana, in 1911, but moved to Alberta in 1918 because of persecution. During the depression, local groups in the United States encouraged some Hutterites to return, and in 1935 a colony located near Lewistown, Montana. More colonies were established in Montana following enactment of the Land Sales Prohibition Act and the Communal Property Act, which restricted colony expansion in Alberta. Between 1945 and 1951, ten daughter colonies located in Montana, with the parent colonies being in Alberta. *(71)* Because of pressure to restrict the growth of the colonies, the Montana House of Representatives passed a bill in 1961 to establish a Communal Property Board, which could process applications for new colonies according to a size limit of 6,500 acres, and a distance limit of 40 miles. The Senate, however, rejected the bill. In 1963 there was a second move to restrict the Hutterites, and public hearings were held. Again opposition developed for many of the same reasons as it did in Alberta. However, no legislative action was taken, and there are no restrictions on the growth of colonies in Montana at the present time. The Montana Farmers Union is a strong supporter of civil liberties, and in July, 1972, the Assistant to the President of the Union wrote that "if anyone tried to infringe upon the rights of the Hutterites in Montana, we would probably go to their defense". *(73)*

As of August, 1971, there were 22 Hutterite colonies in Montana, of which fifteen were **Lehrerleut,** and seven **Dariusleut.** The population of the colonies in 1968 was approximately 1,920. Each colony farmed an average of 10,929 acres of land. *(74)*

E. Other Areas:

A few Hutterite colonies are located in North Dakota, Washington, Nebraska, and Minnesota. As far as is known, no legislative restrictions limit the acquisition of land by Hutterite colonies which do not also apply to other groups in these states. In Minnesota, two bills were introduced in 1959 which would have imposed an acreage limit on "communal corporations", but both bills died in committee. *(75)*

In this century, four groups of idealistic Christians, who believed in communal living, became associated with the Hutterites. The first group was founded by a German, Eberhard Arnold, who joined with several other Christian families to practice communal living in 1920. The community, established in Germany, was modelled on the Hutterites. In 1930, Arnold came to Alberta from Germany, and was ordained as a Hutterite minister at the Standoff colony. During the Thirties the German group was persecuted by Nazi authorities, and established communes in England and Paraguay, as they were refused permission to immigrate to Canada. Arnold died in 1939, and the movement eventually broke up, due to internal dissension. The remaining members either joined a new community in England, or colonies in the United States. Arnold's group contained members from professional classes, and the group as a whole was more humanistic and less rigid in its outlook than the more orthodox Hutterite philosophy. *(76)*

As a result of this group's particular outlook, the orthodox Hutterites in effect excommunicated them. *(76)*

The second group was led by Julius Kubassek, a Hungarian immigrant from British Columbia, who in 1940 lived for a year on a Hutterite colony in Alberta. He later established a Hutterite colony in Ontario, taking some Hutterite families from Alberta with him. However, there was a disagreement with Kubassek's leadership, and most of the Hutterite families eventually returned to Alberta. The Alberta colonies discontinued their affiliation with the Ontario colony. *(77)*

The other two groups are located in the Phillipines and Japan. Around 1970, a few people in these countries dissatisfied with conditions in modern society researched several groups in different parts of the world which had set up communes, and were most impressed with the Hutterites. They subsequently visited Alberta to gain first-hand information, and are now living communally according to some of the Hutterian beliefs in their own countries. If they continue to live according to the Hutterite faith, they will eventually be accepted as members of the Hutterian Church. These two groups are separate entities. *(78)*

5. THE HUTTERIAN WAY OF LIFE

A. Description

The Hutterites are the most successful of any groups which have tried to live communally in North America. *(79)*

A Hutterite colony has two leaders: a Prediger (preacher), and a Wirt (business manager). To assist these two, there is an assistant preacher and a council of five or more elders, the members of which usually hold office for life. The preacher, the Wirt, and the assistant preacher are always on the council, as well as the field boss, and one or more trustees.

No office in a Hutterite colony is hereditary: officers are either elected or appointed. For example, the assistant preacher is chosen by three steps. First, the preacher nominates at least two persons whom he feels are worthy. Next, the assembly of all male members of the colony (usually numbering about 12 persons), votes, and those who receive fewer than five votes are eliminated. Finally, the remaining names are placed in a hat, God's guidance is invoked, and the person whose name is drawn is declared elected. In most cases, the assistant minister succeeds to the position of Minister or becomes Minister when a new colony is established. The actual procedure of election varies somewhat according to the branch of the Hutterian Church.

The assembly of all baptised male members elects the Wirt, the council of elders, and the colony's German teacher. The assembly may depose any of those elected if they prove to be unsatisfactory in their positions. All matters of importance are submitted to the assembly for decision, and matters of extreme importance must receive unanimous approval. However, a good deal of informal discussion usually takes place, so that decisions are often by consensus.

Each colony has a number of managers for specific colony operations, who are appointed by the council. These include the cattle boss, hog boss, chicken boss, duck boss, blacksmith, carpenter, mechanic, bookkeeper, shoemaker, head cook, garden woman, and kindergarten teachers. *(80)* Each manager receives from the Wirt what he needs in the way of supplies, and returns to the Wirt the proceeds from his operation.

Each group, or **Leut,** has a head Minister, or Bishop, who is chosen by an assembly of all preachers. *(81)* The assembly of preachers which usually meets yearly, decides on paramount spiritual matters, and discusses changes or innovations which affect all the colonies. Rulings regarding non-spiritual behaviour are circulated to all colonies, and each colony votes as to whether to accept the ruling. Thus, an authoritarian spiritual rule is combined with a democratic rule in regard to behaviour. *(82)* For many years, there were no formal ties between the three **Leuts.** However, restrictive legislation in Alberta, along with talk of similar circumstances in Manitoba, led the Hutterites to the conclusion that they should establish a unified association, to represent the Hutterite Church whenever the groups were confronted with a common threat. Therefore, in 1951, the Hutterian Brethren Church was incorporated, the executive of which meets once a year. *(83)* The executive is composed of the elders from each **Leut,** and usually meets two out of three years in Alberta, and one out of three in Manitoba.

In their earlier history, Hutterite colonies were involved in industries in addition to agriculture. However, the Hutterites in North America have found that other industries are too well-developed for them to compete, and what industry exists is small and related primarily to their own use in agriculture. *(84)*

A colony is communal in its principles of production, consumption, and distribution. *(85)* One of the principles of the Hutterite way is, "To each according to his need, in equal measure with his fellow members." *(86)* "Property means the right to use but not to posses." *(87)* There is no private property in a colony, and no system of inheritance. When someone dies, his personal possessions are redistributed in the colony. *(88)* Each member of the colony receives a small allowance whenever he needs to conduct business off the colony, and the only acquisitive outlets are the hope chests which the boys and girls receive when they turn 15, and assignment of responsibility for machinery. *(89)* Even goods used personally, such as hope chests and clothing, are regarded as the property of the Church, to be used by certain members, but not possessed by them.

Social patterns are believed to be divinely prescribed, and therefore must remain stable, but economic and technical methods are pragmatic, and vary a great deal from time to time. Innovations of modern society are viewed as being of two types: those which could benefit the welfare of the colony, and those which would simply be for the personal comfort or pleasure. Those innovations which would be good for the colony "cannot be too modern". *(90)*

Religion permeates almost every aspect of the Hutterian way of life. Visitors to colonies have rarely come away without having heard quotations from the Bible which describe why the Hutterites live as they do. *(91)* The clothing worn by the Hutterites is a product of their religion, as is the fact that married men have beards. The simple and uniform clothing signifies a unity of mind and heart in communal living.

The Hutterite beliefs in communal living and pacifism are the two major tenets which differentiate them from other Christian denominations. Hutterites believe in obeying the government, as long as the government does not demand of them anything which is contrary to the teachings of Christ. The Hutterite worship is devoid of ornamentation, because of the scriptural commandment, "Thou shalt not make unto thee any graven image". *(92)* Singing is in unison in a church service, and music is discouraged outside of religious activities. The Hutterites are extremely static in their religious tradition, and resist changes in their beliefs. A Hutterite has described this tranditionalism as follows: "Any departure from the old ways is bad; one thing soon leads to another". *(93)* While the elders do advise the young people with regard to the suitability of their marriage partners, marriages are not arranged and partners are generally selected from another colony. In effect there is no room for divorce in Hutterite belief or indeed in their history. *(94)*

The Hutterite view of human nature is that human beings have an intrinsically imperfect nature, but that the character improves as a person is indoctrinated with a spiritual nature. No one is punished because he is bad, but because he must accept the consequences of his action. As a person grows through these lessons, his innate badness is replaced by goodness and responsibility. The road to perfection lies in a minimum of condemnation, and in aid from one's companions. Violence is not an acceptable form of punishment, although children may be spanked if their behaviour is a serious problem. The way to make a man change his ways, the Hutterites feel, is through his conscience, rather than through threat of force. If a person makes a serious mistake, he goes before the congregation, recalls the mistake, and promises to amend his behaviour. If a person leaves the colony, then wishes to return, he is accepted back, and witnessed for several weeks to ensure that he is sure of his repentance. The Hutterites make it a point to forgive when signs of improvement are observed.

The Hutterite philosophy of human nature contrasts with the general outlook in North America. In the larger society, the child is good to start with, and when he makes a mistake, he is disappointing. *(95)* In a Hutterite colony, a child is expected to make mistakes, and improvement in behaviour is encouraging. The Hutterites also believe that society in general is innately imperfect, and that living a Christian life cannot be reconciled with it. Therefore, the colonies are as much as possible self-contained units, so as to avoid corruption by the influence of society.

The Hutterite child is taught to be "obedient, submissive, and dependent upon human support and contact". *(96)* Socialization into the Hutterite way is rewarded by the knowledge that the individual is making an important contribution to the colony, and by a sense of achievement. *(97)*

The Hutterite principles of austerity and simplicity are reflected in the organization of the colony's buildings. There are no absolute rules laid down as to the layout of a colony, although colonies appear to be very similar, with the exception that the newer colonies have utilized many more modern facilities and building materials than the older ones. A colony usually has four to five long, one-story apartment buildings for family living quarters, although some families live in individual dwellings if they existed before the colony was built. Each family occupies from two to five rooms, depending on the number of children in the family. A family unit will include one sitting-sleeping room, and the other rooms are bedrooms. Toilet facilities vary with the age of the colony: older colonies employ outdoor toilet facilities, while new colonies usually have indoor plumbing though as colonies modernise older dwellings indoor plumbing facilities are to be seen in older colonies as well. Each colony has a large central dining hall and kitchen, and sometimes a separate dining room for the children. The men and women eat at separate long tables in the dining hall. Most colonies have a combined school-church building, although a few have a separate room for the school. In addition to the schoolroom, a colony will build a separate kindergarten. Recently, outside of the village buildings, a few colonies have begun to cultivate lawns and gardens. *(98)* The Hutterites place a high value on cleanliness and neatness in their buildings.

Each evening, a half-hour church service is held on the colony. On Sunday, there are two services — a long one in the morning, and a short one again in the evening, *(99)* as well as Sunday school in the afternoon.

The process of socialisation into the Hutterian value system is long but successful. The children begin to attend kindergarten when they near their third birthdays, and continue until they begin to attend English and German school. In order to maintain instruction of religious principles and the German language, the assembly elects a German teacher, who instructs the children from between one and three hours a day. The instruction usually occurs in the morning before the English school, or before and after the English school hours. The Hutterites accept the English school because of the need for an elementary education to prepare themselves for work on the colony, and to comply with government regulations. In most cases, the colony supplies the school and, if necessary, the teacherage, and the local school division supplies the teacher. As local taxpayers, the Hutterites indirectly pay for the salary of the English teacher.

Most Hutterites in Alberta are bilingual. More and more, English is becoming the language of day-to-day communication, and German is the language of religion.

Childhood ends with the fifteenth birthday. On the fifteenth birthday, the Hutterite begins to eat with the adults, and performs tasks with adults of his own sex, rather than doing the work of the children. Traditionally, German and English schooling ends at the age of fifteen. From the beginning of adulthood, the Hutterite is in an apprenticeship position in the colony until he is baptised, usually between the ages of 19 and 21. *(100)* When a young Hutterite feels that the time has come for him to accept the vows of baptism, he must approach the council to inform them that he feels ready to be baptised. If the council feels that the young person is mature enough to take this step, he attends a meeting with the council once a week for eight weeks, so as to be instructed and questioned in preparation for baptism. Baptism occurs on a colony once every two years.

By the time the individual has been baptised and married, socialisation is virtually complete. When one is elected to a managerial role in the colony, when on one's efforts depends the welfare of the colony, then socialisation may be said to be complete.

Hutterite families do not compete for status or wealth. They attempt to maintain the important links of communication between the generations. *(101)* In regard to work, the Hutterites believe in keeping everyone busy, but they do not believe that anyone should be overworked. Turns are taken in performing disagreeable tasks.

The Hutterites have a birth rate hardly equalled in the Western world, because they do not believe in birth control. Nevertheless, the birth rate is not as high as it might be or has been among other religious groups in North America, because Hutterite women do not usually marry until they are 19. Only 12 out of 1,000 Hutterite women between the ages of 15 and 19 give birth, compared with the North American average of 70 out of 1,000 for this age group. Because of the high birth rate and a low death rate, the Hutterite population doubles every 17 to 20 years. *(102)* The brethren do not believe in colonies having more than 150 to 200 persons, because of the difficulty in managing such a large commune. Therefore, when the colony population grows to between 110 and 150, the colony leaders find a location to establish a daugher colony, which would need between five and ten sections of good farmland, or more if the land is poor. It takes several years to build facilities on the new colony, and to prepare it for inhabitation. The families of the old colony are divided into two groups, and when the new colony is ready, the group which is to move to the new colony is chosen by lot. The actual relation-

ship between mother and daughter colony may vary according to the branch of Hutterites.

There are no social organizations on the colony, and no organized entertainment. The major leisure activity consists of visiting and conversing. Colonies often subscribe to local newspapers, and to farming magazines, so that the colony members have a fair knowledge of events outside the colony, as well as information concerning innovations which may be helpful to their way of life. Some colonies will set up a display at a local fair. *(103)*

No Hutterite child or old person has ever been neglected, as the Hutterites believe in taking care of persons in need. This same concern for those in need is often extended to neighboring farmers. The Hutterites do not believe in accepting any form of welfare, and no Hutterites have ever been a burden to a government in this way.

Between 1880 and 1950, of 258 Hutterites who abandoned the colonies, over half returned. Most of those who became permanent deserters have been successful outside the colony. *(104)*

Hutterites do not believe in imposing their religious views on others. In spite of this, between 1930 and 1950, thirty converts joined the colonies. *(105)*

A colony will not turn away a visitor or a guest, and a visitor will often be taken on a tour of the colony. "It is revealing that most bitter opposition to Hutterites has come from more distant neighbors and from people who know very little about them from firsthand contacts". *(106)*

Family records of the Hutterites, which can usually be traced for about 200 years, show that the Hutterites at no time permitted individuals to marry anyone more closely related than Canadian law today permits. *(107)*

The Hutterites have a reputation for being a law-abiding group. There are "no cases on record where Hutterites were involved in murder, arson, robbery, or other major offenses". *(108)* Only one case of suicide, as far as is known, has occurred among the Hutterites. *(109)* Rumors are sometimes heard that Hutterites often are guilty of pilfering. However, two researchers who investigated specific complaints found that they had no validity. "The evidence is undeniable that they as a group are at least no more guilty of this form of delinquency than their neighbours". With the occassional exception of the restrictive land acquisition laws which were perceived as discriminatory, the Hutterites generally violate no laws. *(110)*

The Hutterite colonies pay the income tax and property tax for which they have been assessed, and there is a possibility that it will become optional for them to pay into the Canada Pension Plan. *(111)* The majority of colonies will likely opt out of this program because the colonies themselves provide for the aged. Most Hutterites do not accept family allowance payments. Most colonies in Alberta are enrolled on group registration with the Alberta Health Care Insurance Commission. *(112)* The Provincial Director of Health Units reports that the colonies generally co-operate with the local health units, and that colonies which have in the past been skeptical about recommended health procedures are today more accepting of these practices. *(113)* The Hutterites are subject to the same governmental regulations (such as agricultural and licensing regulations) as any other citizens, and to the best of the Committee's knowledge, these regulations are generally complied with by the Hutterites. Most colonies are registered with the Registrar of Companies for Alberta.

As mentioned in the previous chapter, the Hutterites are showing a greater trust in governmental institutions, and some Hutterites will vote, attend ratepayers' meetings, and initiate action in the courts. Many colonies are members of the wheat pool and other rural co-operative organizations.

In general, the Hutterites believe in simple and industrious living, obedience to the government, and their way of life is centered around religion. Their life-style is extremely traditional, but they will accept innovations which will benefit the welfare of the colony.

B. Relations with Local Communities

The relations between colonies and local communities are sometimes not ideal. Local residents sometimes develop stereotyped images of the Hutterites, which include a few positive attributes, although a good many seem to be negative. That these stereotyped images develop follows naturally from the fact that the Hutterites do not take part in many community activities, as well as from the fact that they live and dress differently from the average local resident. Many of the characteristics often ascribed to the Hutterites, however, are not accurate, and some are only partly correct. Some of these attributes are listed below and discussed.

1. Hutterite colonies are not an economic asset to the province, or to local communities". The 1972 Select Committee, on the basis of information in chapter six, rejected this contention.

2. "Hutterite colonies are causing the demise of rural communities". The 1972 Select Committee, on the basis of information in chapter seven, concluded this argument was invalid.

3. "Hutterite colonies are crowding out other farmers". For every buyer of land, there is a seller. Even under the Communcal Property Act, which meant that the Hutterites did not have the same right to property as other Albertans, the Hutterites were able to find land to buy. According to the 1972 Committee, the major reason for this is that many rural young people do not find rural life as appealing as urban life, and that small farmers are finding it more and more difficult to be successful.
   Arguments regarding inflated or deflated land prices in proximity to Hutterite colonies apply equally to land in proximity to all large farms, of which the numbers in Alberta are well in excess of the number of Hutterite colonies.

4. "Hutterites do not pay taxes".
   In the next chapter, this complaint is shown to be false.

5. "Hutterites do not comply with the law".
   The Hutterites are subject to federal, provincial and municipal laws, as are all other Albertans. In regard to the selling of produce or the peddling of goods, they are subject to provincial health regulations, and local licensing regulations. To the best of the 1972 Committee's knowldege, these laws are enforced, and the Hutterites abide by them. Hutterites do pay into the Alberta Health Care Insurance Plan at the same rate as all other Albertans, and co-operate with the Provincial Health Units. They are subject to the same marketing regulations as other farmers. Moreover, the Hut-

terite religion incorporates the principle of abiding by the law, and Hutterites are seldom seen as defendants in court. *(114)* However, like other groups, Hutterites are not perfect. It is likely that specific instances when Hutterites have broken the law have sometimes been generalized.

6. "Hutterites are not good citizens".
   The major reason for this complaint would seem to be the Hutterian belief in pacifism. However, it is not generally accepted in this country that a good citizen will always fight when his country goes to war. There are a good many "conscientious objectors" in Canada, from a large number of religious groups other than the Hutterian Church. Moreover, the Hutterites are willing to comply with alternative service if conscripted.
   Another complaint is that the Hutterites will not run for elected office. However, they do accept responsibility for elected office within their own colonies, thus saving another elected official responsibilities which he would otherwise inherit. It is possible, however, that the Hutterites may learn to trust the institutions of the majority culture more as time goes by, if these institutions appear to be worthy of their trust. The fact that some Hutterites now vote in provincial and municipal elections is evidence of this growing acceptance.
7. "Hutterite schools are a burden to local taxpayers, and Hutterite children receive an inferior education". Hutterite colonies pay the same education tax as other citizens or corporations in the Province, and grants from the School Foundation program are paid to local school districts for Hutterite children on the same basis as any other child.
   Some Hutterite schools are very small (10 - 15 pupils) and are uneconomic, but in instances where the cost of maintaining such a school by the division is a financial burden, the Hutterite colony can be declared a hamlet under Section 122 of the School Act. An additional levy can then be imposed on the colony to pay for any extra costs associated with operating such a school. The financial burden is therefore on the colony and not on the school division or county.
   There is resentment against the fact that Hutterite schools are operated on the colony, while other schools are centralized and the children bussed to another community. However, it is within the Division's authority to maintain the operation of smaller non-economic schools if it wishes. If the parents of such children wished to maintain such an uneconomic school close to their home and pay the additional cost to support it as the Hutterites do, Section 92 of the School Act, with the Minister's approval, could be used to establish an agreement between the Board and that particular community to retain small uneconomic schools. The colonies are in essence operating segregated public schools. While Hutterites claim their schools to be public, in practice they do not encourage School Boards to send non-Hutterite children to the Hutterite School. From this standpoint it is questionable whether full public funds should be accorded to them. Reports of the poor quality of the Hutterite education in Hutterite schools were often brought to the Committee's attention. The 1972 Committee felt that it would be outside of its terms of reference if it conducted a full-scale study of the Hutterite education facilities. However, the 1972 Committee recommended that such a study be carried out.
8. "When a Hutterite defects from the colony, he receives no share of the colony's assets".
   This statement is true, but is somewhat misleading. When a Hutterite is baptised, at between the ages of 19 and 21, he agrees to live communally, and to own nothing as private property. At that time, he realizes that, if he were ever to give up the Hutterian faith, he would not be able to claim any part of the colony's assets. The Hutterite has voluntarily entered into this agreement, and, as previously mentioned, the Supreme Court of Canada has upheld the validity of this procedure.
   In reality, there is no such thing as one person's "share" of a colony's assets.
   If a Hutterite does leave a colony, and is not able to find employment immediately, he is eligible, as is any other citizen, to receive social assistance from the municipality in which the colony is located, for ninety days.
9. "Hutterites do not support the social and community life of rural Alberta communities".
   This statement is only partly true. The Hutterites do not take part in the usual leisure acitivities of rural communities, thus decreasing the population base on which such activities can rely. However, there is not sufficient evidence to indicate that the Hutterites are detrimental to the structure of community life to the point of being problematic, and it was felt by the 1972 Committee that it is not the responsibility of government, in any case, to force any group of persons to take part in leisure activities.
   It is not true, however, that Hutterites will not participate in community affairs. They will join in community movements for electrification programs, telephone service programs, and rural gasification programs. In some communities, the Hutterites have donated equipment to grade rural and town roads. They have donated labor to build a community arena, *(115)* and have donated money to local charitable organizations.
10. "The Hutterites farm much more land than they are permitted to under the Communal Property Act, and if the Act were repealed, they would soon own all the good farmland in Alberta".

    In order to investigate this compalint, all M.D.'s, Counties, I.D.'s, Special Areas and **all Hutterite Colonies** were contacted by the 1972 Committee to determine how much land was being farmed by colonies outside the Communal Property Act. It was found that:

    1. 34 colonies hold deeded land not approved by the Communal Property Control Board, for a total of 29,231 acres.
    2. 11 colonies hold lease land not approved by the Communal Property Control Board, for a total of 10,959 acres.
    3. 45 colonies are renting or farming lands under hire agreement not contemplated by the Act, for a total of 84,539 acres.
    4. 20 colonies are actually farming less land than the amount they would be allowed under present approval granted by the Communal Property Control Board.
    5. 42 colonies are farming less land than their maximum permissable limit under the Communal Property Act.
    6. In 1971, three colonies actually relinquished some of their lands.

The total Hutterite land holdings in the Province at the present time approximates:

596,830 acres deeded or leased under the terms of the Communal Property Act.

29,231 acres deeded outside the terms of the Communal Property Act.

95,498 acres leased, rented or farmed under hire agreement and not approved under the Act.

721,559 acres total represents about 1% of the 70 million acres of arable land in the Province.

A number of Hutterites suggested that the land limitations were too restrictive to the point of not allowing the colonies to maintain an economic operation. The 1972 Committee therefore asked **each** colony to indicate the additional acreage it required in order to be an economic unit, or what land it would liked to have held had there been no restrictions. It was found that:

1. 1 colony said it wanted no more land.
2. 46 colonies did not indicate yes or no.
3. 35 colonies said they wanted more land, for a total of about 91,000 acres (142 sections)

An analysis of colony populations showed that:

1. Hutterite population doubles about every 17 - 20 years.
2. Present total colony population is 6,732 people, representing less than ½ of 1% of the population of Alberta, which is about 1,655,000.
3. Colonies tend to divide and establish daughter colonies when the colony population reaches 110 - 150. On this basis within the next 3 - 4 years, it could be expected that approximately 13 new colonies would be established, since that number presently have populations of 110 or more. Assuming that all of these new colonies established themselves in Alberta, at an average of 13 sections of land per colony, this could mean that an additional 108,160 acres (169 sections) might be owned by the Hutterites.

If the Communal Property Act were repealed, and no restrictions were placed on the expansion of the Hutterite colonies, the Hutterites might possibly be expected to be farming the following amount of land within the next 3 - 4 years:

1. Acres presently owned, leased or rented 721,559
2. **Plus:** 91,000 additional acres which 35 colonies said they want.

   Plus: 119,600 acres estimated for 46 colonies which did not reply.

   Equals: 210,600 acres

   Less: 124,729 acres which **are** presently farmed and could be legitimatized

   Equals: 85,871* acres 85,871
3. **Plus:** 13 new colonies at 13 sections each 108,160

   TOTAL 915,590

   acres or 1½% of the arable land in the Province

**The figure of 91,000 acres was given to us by the colonies indicating what they would like to own in addition to their present legitimate holdings. We are assuming that if the land presently being farmed outside the act were allowed to be legitimatized, the colonies' requests for additional land would drop by that amount.*

One and a half percent is still **far** from being problematic. The economic circumstances that grip the farming community today are having their telling signs on the Hutterites. The capital that must be ammassed to start new colonies is no longer generating itself every 17 - 20 years. About 30 - 40% of the colonies are having to borrow extensive sums of money and are paying interest per year varying from $4,000 to $60,000. Agricultural economists have indicated that the economic situation in North America today will itself limit the growth and expansion of colonies. They suggest there is not even a remote chance that the Hutterites would eventually occupy all the good farm lands in Alberta as some parties believe, or even become problematic as far as land holdings are concerned.

* * * * *

Relations between the Hutterites and local communities appear to have improved in areas where the colonies have been established for some time. However, at the present time, there are few people living in Hutterite colonies or local communities who serve as a channel of communication between the two groups. Thus the development of mutual trust is proceeding dangerously slow, and false rumors are still very prevalent. This was one very important reason why the 1972 Committee recommended the establishment of a Hutterite Liaison Office.

C. Research findings regarding the Hutterian Brethren

The Hutterian Brethren represent one of the most successful attempts of any group which has tried to set up a "Utopian" type of society in the midst of a much larger society with a different value system. For example, 498 groups, in addition to the Hutteries, are recorded as having attempted to establish such communities in North America. *(116)* With the exception of recently established groups, the Hutterite communes are the only ones which have survived, and expanded to such an extent.

Because of this phenomenon, the Hutterites have been the object of several scientific investigations. These have presented evidence in support of theories which attempt to explain the success of the Hutterite organization, and which suggest some of its weaknesses.

Within a Hutterite colony, an individual's expectations are very clearly defined by the doctrines of the colony, and reinforced by social patterns *(117)*, thus reducing internal value conflict. *(118)* It is to be expected, however, that one of the major points of stress in the Hutterite society is the conflict between the values of the Hutterite society and the values of the outside society. Hutterite society will accept any innovation from the "outside" which could benefit the welfare of the colony rather than just the personal well-being of an individual. *(119)* Thus, the Hutterites can maintain the loyalty of their youth, who demand certain innovations, and at the same time preserve their way of life in other respects. J. W. Eaton has called this process "controlled acculturation", *(120)* and views this procedure as a method of preventing complete assimilation.

It has often been asked whether the Hutterite communal way of life is in any way detrimental to the development of the full human potential. This is a question which is impossible to answer in absolute terms, because there is no group which we can say has developed its human potentials to the full, with which we can compare the Hutterite society or any other society. It is quite possible, however, that there are certain traditions in any society, including our own, which limit the growth of some part of the human potential to some extent. With regard to the Hutterites, we can only compare their society with our own and other societies, and be enlightened by this observation.

The Hutterite society is noted for its general harmony, peaceful atmosphere, and simplicity. How does this atmosphere affect the emotional balance of the Hutterites? A study conducted in the early 1950's by Eaton and Weil

reveals that, of the 8,452 Hutterites living in 1951, 53 were or had been at one time psychotic. Of these, 39 were or had suffered from manic-depressiveness, 9 from schizophrenia, and 5 from acute and chronic brain disorders. *(121)* That is to say, about 0.5% of the Hutterites were suffering or had suffered from manic-depression, which means that in this area. Hutterites are no worse off than Western society in general. *(122)* However, whereas in the U.S. society, the majority of persons being treated in hospitals for mental illness are schrizophrenic, *(123)* the Hutterites exhibit a very low rate of this particular disorder.

Kaplan and Plaut applied two psychological tests, a Thematic Apperception Test, and Sentence Completion Test, to about 100 Hutterites, approximately half of whom were selected randomly. They discovered that, among the Hutterites, mental health problems were neither "minimal nor completely eliminated", *(124)* but that it was their opinion that "Hutterites come off rather well in comparison with other people we have known". *(125)* Among their findings was the conclusion that, although aggression was disapproved, it had not completely disappeared. Rather, aggressive feelings, when experienced, were often rejected and replaced by more tender emotions. *(126)* It seemed that the inhibition of aggression might have overflowed into other areas, resulting in an inhibition of creativity and spontaneity. This repression of aggression, however, had not led to much psychopathology or anxiety. *(127)* It was found that more women than men suffered from a feeling of inadequacy and deprivation in interpersonal relations, although symptom formation did not often follow. Among those who completed the tests, fantasies of deviant behaviour were frequent, although many were relatively mild. There seemed to be a concern for acquisition among the thoughts of deviant behaviour. *(128)*

Does communal living prevent the Hutterites from any natural inclinations which they may have to be competitive? Apparently not. The Hutterites tested did not seem to be naturally competitive, nor were they masking competitive urges. Their motivation for their work was inspired by urges other than competitive ones. *(129)*

John Bennett points out that excessively close relationships in living tend to breed a sense of alienation and a fear of being accepted, whether the close relationships involve the family or a Hutterite colony. He states that " . . . a certain emotional price must be paid for being a Hutterite, and that a few weak spots exist in this remarkable system of managed democracy". *(130)*

Karl Peter notes that one of the reasons why colonies usually manage to avoid internal dissention is that when a daughter colony is established, there are more positions of status to be filled than there are persons to fill them. Thus, the Hutterite has the opportunity to receive satisfaction from doing an important job, and at the same time to occupy a position of some degree of status on the colony. As the colony grows older, however, more young people become available for a decreasing number of positions. Some eventually experience dissatisfaction with their jobs, and feel deprived of status. Just before the colony becomes unmanageable, the colony divides, a daughter colony is formed, and the process begins again. Peter points out, however, that problems may arise in the future, because indications are that the Hutterite birthrate will exceed the ability of colonies to accumulate enough capital to expand. In order to start a new colony after a period of 17.3 years, when the population doubles, a colony, according to Peter in 1967, would need to make a net profit of about $59,000 per year. Most colonies, however, were earning, according to Peter, only about $20,000 to $30,000 per year. *(131)* Thus, the Hutterites may be faced with making adaptations. One function of the liaison office, which the 1972 Committee recommended, would be to report to the government should problems arise from such adaptations.

The Hutterite Church is an extremely strong reference group for the individual Hutterites. A reference group is defined as a group in which a person seeks to attain or maintain membership. *(132)* The reference group ties are likely the major reason why the great majority of Hutterites do not wish to leave the colonies and live like others from the "outside". Two studies have been concerned with Hutterites who did defect.

In a study by Dr. M. M. Mackie, completed in 1965 in conjunction with a study by John Hostetler, about half of the living defectors from Hutterite colonies were contacted, which represented a sample of 37 persons. The most frequent reasons given for defection were a desire for self-direction, a desire for the advantages of the outside society, a personality conflict with colony leaders, and a dislike for the colony job. Most defectors left a colony which was experiencing organization difficulties. Contacts with the culture outside the colony, through the English teacher, friends outside the colony or visits outside the colony, had assisted in preparing the defector for his life outside the colony, and most had fewer problems in adjusting than would be expected. The well-adjusted defectors had close primary associates outside the colony, and the minority who were not well-adjusted missed their companions on the colony, and were lonely. Two-thirds of the defectors continued to live in rural areas. Mackie concludes that the supposed advantages offered by the host society have failed to outweigh the rewards of communalism, unless those rewards have been destroyed by poor organization in some colonies. *(133)*

E. D. Boldt made several observations on Hutterite defection on the basis of his research, which compared sixty Hutterite children with sixty non-Hutterite children from the same area, who were all administered a test designed to measure conformity. The Hutterite children were found to be "significantly less conformist than their non-Hutterite peers." *(134)* The Hutterite children showed a greater willingness to offer deviant reactions to Hutterite values than were the non-Hutterite children to the values of their society. It did not seem, therefore, that defection would be the result of either the threat of punishment, or of rebellion against conformity. *(135)*

Three studies have been conducted which concern the attitudes of the neighboring population towards the Hutterites. In a sample of 590 respondents drawn from voluntary and employee's organizations in Edmonton, Dr. M. M. Mackie found that those sampled had a fairly accurate knowledge of the Hutterites, with regard to the following categories: "religious, rural, likely to have large families, cliquish, believe university education unimportant, self-sufficient, hardworking, thrifty with money, seldom involved in physical fights, seldom in trouble with the law, sober, stable marriages, sexually moral, not neglectful of their children's needs, disliked by other groups, and old-fashioned". *(136)* Writing in his master's thesis, D. T. Priestly was more concerned with the nature of prejudicial attitudes towards the Hutterites. Using a sample in South Dakota, from which he derived limited data, Priestly found that there was no significant association between frequency or intimacy of contact, or knowledge of attributes and attitude towards the Hutterites. There was, however, a significant association between a negative attitude towards the Hutterites, and inaccurate knowledge of the Hutterites, indicating

that prejudicial feelings were supported by inaccurate knowledge. There was a significant association between ownership status and attitude towards the Hutterites, in that those who were worse off in owning farmland tended to have more negative attitudes towards the Hutterites. Priestly noted that a frustrated person will seek a focal point on which to vent his frustration, thus displacing that frustration from the object which really causes it. On the basis of previous research, it would seem likely that there is a significant association between a person's attitude towards the Hutterites, and the attitudes towards Hutterites of the opinion leaders in a person's reference group. *(137)* If this is true, then the attitudes of persons towards Hutterites are likely to be significantly affected by the perceived attitudes of friends, local citizens who are viewed with esteem, and politicians and other leaders whom the person views as being the leaders of groups in which he values his membership.

In the study of respondents from voluntary and employee's organizations Dr. Mackie measured the perceived "social distance" between the respondents and several minority groups, including Hutterites, and such groups as Canadians, Americans, Swedes, Germans, Ukrainians, Negroes, Jews, Chinese, Indians, and Metis. *(138)* The Hutterites were found to be the most "socially distant". These results compared favorably to those in a study by Dr. G. K. Hirabayashi conducted in 1961 in Edmonton. *(139)* In that study, Hutterites seemed to be the most socially distant from the respondents (university students) of any of the minority groups, and the degree of social distance was close to that found in Mackie's study. An important finding by Mackie, however, was that social distance was not positively related to a greater tendency for the respondents to form stereotyped images of the minority groups. In relation to the Hutterites, one must keep in mind that Hutterites do not buy all the land at once but what they can purchase and what they can manage, this would indicate that, although there seems to be a rather significant and consistent social distance between Hutterites and other Albertans, this does not mean that this social distance will affect the impressions which those in the larger society will form of the Hutterites. *(140)* Rather, 'The social distance expressed toward the Hutterites, undoubtedly reflects respondents' compliance with that group's desire to remain apart from the rest of society". *(141)*

The fact that the Hutterites, who can only maintain their way of life by living in a different manner from the society around them; exist in a society such as our own, provides a living experiment, from which observers can learn a great deal both about the effects of this situation on Hutterite society and on the larger host society. One thing which we have learned from the Hutterites is that "the preservation of the integrity of a traditional culture is possible, given good management, an enormously strong social system, and a clear sense of cultural identity". *(142)*

6. HUTTERITES AND THE ALBERTA ECONOMY *(143)*

In order to evaluate the economics of the Hutterite farming operations, one must first look at all colonies together as a group, and then the individual colonies or a representative colony.

Of the 82 Hutterite colonies in Alberta as of December 31, 1971, income and expense statements on a cash basis were acquired for 73 of these colonies by the 1972 Committee. *(144)* Unfortunately, no inventories were recorded, so the study was limited to evaluating only the cash receipts and not the actual farm production in 1971. In addition to this, balance sheets were available for eight colonies. It was with this data that the study was conducted.

As displayed in Table 1, the 73 colonies received a combined income of $23,837,712. Of this income all except $833,174 was attained from the sale of farm produce, the net value of sales being $23,004,538. This cash income was 3% of the total 1971 cash receipts from the sale of farm products received by Alberta farmers. Proportionately, 26.1% of this cash income was derived from grains and 67.6% from livestock and livestock products. This is in comparison to a provincial farm income derivation of 41.0% from crops and 57.3% from livestock and livestock products.

These colonies incurred expenses of $17,163,997 in their 1971 farm operations. This expense was composed of $1.4 million in machinery repairs and parts, $752,154 on fuel, $1,018,713 on fertilizer, $2,707,206 on feed, $5,507,054 on livestock, $1,633,786 on overhead expenses and $436,066 on miscellaneous expenses. Of these purchases, feed ($2.7 million) and livestock ($5.5 million) were purchases of products produced by other Alberta farmers.

TABLE 1

INCOME AND RECEIPTS — 73 ALBERTA HUTTERITE COLONIES

Receipts	Total All Colonies	Average /Colony
Grain Sales & Wheat Board Payments	$ 6,013,271	$ 82,374
Livestock Sales	12,363,603	169,364
Livestock Products — Eggs & Poultry — Milk & Cream	3,759,413	51,499
Interest & Dividends	868,251	11,894
Other Farm Receipts	833,174	11,413
Total Receipts	$23,837,712	$326,544
Expenses		
Equipment Expenses		
Machinery Repairs & Parts	$ 1,402,586	$ 19,214
— Fuel	752,154	10,304
Building Repairs	506,066	6,932
Crop Expenses		
— Seed		
— Fertilizer & Sprays		
— Seed Cleaning	1,018,713	13,955
Livestock Expenses — Feed	2,707,206	37,085
— Livestock	5,507,054	75,439
Overhead Expenses		
— Utilities		
— Taxes		
— Marketing Board Payments	1,633,786	22,381
Travelling	110,925	1,520
Tools & Hardware		
Cash Rent		
Miscellaneous	325,141	4,454
Depreciation CCA	3,200,366	43,841
Total Expenses	$17,163,997	$235,125
NET PROFIT	$ 6,673,735	$ 91,419

The tendency of Hutterite colonies to purchase at major centers rather than in their communities has been suggested. Unfortunately, due to the time limitation, it was not possible for the 1972 Committee to survey all the colonies on this point. It was, however, possible to determine if it would be to the colonies' advantage to purchase at a major center rather than from the local dealer. This information was acquired by contacting regional offices of firms who have local dealers situated in towns throughout the province and inquiring as to their pricing policies. The companies surveyed were: two major farm machinery companies, five major fertilizer companies, three seed companies and three feed companies. Both farm machinery companies stated there would be no advantage for a purchaser to go to a dealer in a larger center. Their companies would, if necessary, assist a local dealer in making a sale, especially if the profit margin on the sale is small. However, it was mentioned by one firm that a small dealer might not be able to handle the machinery traded on the new equipment, if his volume of sales is small and the transaction very large. It was also pointed out that Hutterite colonies in general do not run into this situation as their trade-ins are normally well used and old so the value of the trade-in is not too high. "It's large farmers trading combines in every second year who run into this problem". A further comment was that Hutterite colonies are using the commercial facilities more and more in the repairing of equipment. The tractors and combines in use today are such complicated and intricate machines that it takes a specialist to repair them.

The fertilizer companies told much the same story; they support their local dealers. The fertilizer prices are the same whether purchases are made from the local dealers or the main warehouse. None of the companies interviewed would sell fertilizer directly from their plants. It is left up to the local dealer to be competitive and acquire the sale. Two of the firms interviewed would send staff from head office to assist the dealer in pricing a large sale; the dealer price would then be altered if necessary. One firm commented that it allows no special rates aside from the dealer price list. Although one firm pays transportation to the local dealer, this expense is paid directly by the purchaser with the other two firms. In this case, one could use his own truck to haul the fertilizer from the main warehouse and reduce the transportation cost on the fertilizer by at least the amount of a driver's salary.

Three seed companies were contacted concerning their merchandising policies. In all cases there was no advantage

in purchasing at the main warehouse as the companies pay freight to their local delivery points.

Feed companies were the exception to the previously outlined dealer support policies. There is a definite price advantage in purchasing at the main feed mills in Edmonton or Calgary. These mills do underprice their own local mills. This pricing policy is necessary because many firms active in the feed business do not have mills in the country and are able to offer very low prices at their few large mills. In order for a company to remain competitive it must also offer similar discounts at its main mills even if it means undercutting a local dealer.

In all products except feed it is then up to the local dealer to be competitive and in most cases the companies will assist him if necessary. The head offices are not undercutting their local dealers, so there is little, if any, advantage to not purchasing farm inputs from the local dealers.

If the Hutterite colonies had purchased locally their expenditures on machinery repairs, fuel, seed and fertilizer would have added $3,173,453 to their local communities in 1971. This does not include the purchase of capital items such as tractors and combines which as explained above should also be local purchases.

Additional information was provided by a review of all the cancelled cheques for 1971 for two colonies. The amount of money spent on purchases in (a) the local district (b) nearest small city (c) Calgary, Lethbridge, and Edmonton, and (d) other areas, was calculated.

It was found for a Southern Alberta colony that $120-000 (nearly half of total expenditure) was spent in the immediate trading centre, $120,000 in Lethbridge, $8,000 in Calgary, $8,000 in Edmonton and $17,000 in other centres. A second colony showed similar results with about 1/3 of the $320,000 spent in the immediate trading centres.

The 1972 Committee concluded, therefore, that these statements regarding non-local purchases are unfounded. *(145)* Purchases made in large centres and cities by and large are done in instances where large equipment is bought and local dealers cannot service it, or where trade-ins are too expensive for small dealers to handle. Like most farmers and city folk, the Hutterites attempt to get the "best deal" — a trait not uncommon to the general populus.

In addition to these expenditures, the colonies paid $892,575 in taxes to their local counties or municipalities, and $192,752 in income tax. This income tax figure includes only the income taxes paid in 1971 by the 29 **Lehrerleut** colonies. The **Dariusleut** colonies have appealed their income tax payments, on the grounds that they are not being treated equally with other religious organizations, and the colonies have not been assessed income tax pending the outcome of the appeal. The average income tax paid by the Hutterites on a per member (cf. footnote *(47)*) basis was $300 (1971). This compares with the Alberta farm average of $251 (1970).

AN OVERVIEW OF THE HUTTERITE FARMING OPERATION

Management of a farm entails decisions on the following: what to produce, method of production, how much to produce, and where to produce.

Three principles derived from the Hutterites' religious beliefs notably affect these decisions and the operation of the colony. These three principles are "self-sufficiency", "efficiency" and "simplicity in living".

The first of the three principles, self-sufficiency, dictates diversity in the farming enterprises. The degree of diversification is readily apparent when one considers that only 3 out of 73 colonies did not sell all of the following: eggs, poultry, milk, beef, pork, geese, ducks and grain. The result of such diversification is security, specialization and an opportunity for full employment of the colony members.

The second principle, efficiency, has enabled the colonies to remain competitive in today's agriculture industry. This principle also has an effect on the use of the colonies' labour. It is generally accepted that the Hutterites have unpaid labour available. In spite of this principle, efficiency demands that labour be used as a limited and expensive input similar to the use non-Hutterian farmers would make of it. If the labour is unpaid it certainly is considered limited and is utilized in an efficient manner. Throughout a colony one is continuously confronted with labour saving devices, not what one would expect if unpaid labour was available.

The principle of "simplicity in living" has allowed the colonies to realize their goals of self sufficiency and apparently invest their income in land and other capital items rather than on color TV sets, cars and other amenities.

What to Produce

The first goal of the colony is to produce food for the colony. This food is derived from the livestock and crop enterprises on the farm. The main crops produced by the colonies are: wheat, oats and barley with rape seed and flax being of minor importance. The self-sufficiency principle could limit the size of the livestock enterprises to the quantity of feed produced on the colonies' land. Some colonies do, in fact, restrict their livestock enterprises to the level of their feed production, but many others expand beyond this point and rely on purchases of feed to supply the necessary quantity.

The main feature in this decision is that the colonies, by their philosophy, are inclined to be extremely diverse, even if this is not the most profitable type of farm operation. The diversification also enables an individual an opportunity to realize a degree of accomplishment or satisfaction in becoming a "boss" of an operation.

Method of Production

It can be stated that the Hutterite does tend to produce efficiently. The use of fertilizers, weed sprays, vitamin, mineral and proten supplements is common on most colonies. There is, however, a certain lack of vital information on some colonies. This lack of knowledge is probably a result of the restricted contact the colony members have with the "outside". Their source of information is primarily through salesmen, although they do read a limited number of farm magazines and will inquire of the Department of Agriculture specialists for information on various topics ranging from nutrition to engineering.

A consensus of some Department of Agriculture field staff would place the Hutterites in the category of "early

adopters", with certain colonies showing a tendency towards innovation. Many colonies suggest that their neighbours have changed their cultivation practices to conform with those of the colony and realize beneficial results from the change.

How Much to Produce and Where

The diversification and self-sufficiency principles have a direct limiting effect on the size of any one operation. One would not expect to see a colony with a cow-calf operation so large that it would consume the entire crop production. Instead, the cow-calf enterprise is usually limited in size and shares the crop production with the three or four other enterprises. (This feature could well restrict both the success and the location of Hutterite colonies. All Alberta is not suited to diversification.) The colonies have, in general, purchased whatever quota is necessary in order that they may increase a controlled commodities production to the level they desire.

ANALYSIS OF THE COLONY FARM OPERATION

Table 2 shows a per acre comparison of Alberta's Hutterite Colonies to the farms registered in Alberta Farm Business Analysis, (FBA) program. In general, farms on the provincial program are in the upper 1/3 income group of all the farms in the province. (See Figure 1).

Comparing these two groups of farms, there is very little difference between the economics of the Hutterite farms and the FBA farms. The colonies had a per acre income of $30.87 while the FBA farms displayed an average of $31.21 per acre. (The provincial average income for all farmers was $17 per acre.)

The expenses were also very similar; the colonies' expenditures being $21.52 while the FBA farms showed total expenses of $24.79 per acre. It is noteworthy that the FBA farms had a hired labor expense of $2.14 per acre while the colony farms had no such expense. The profits of the two groups were $9.35 per acre for the Hutterite farms and $7.42 per acre for the FBA farms.

ASSETS AND CAPITAL EQUITY OF THE HUTTERITE FARMS

The only evaluation on the capital position of the Hutterite colonies possible from the data received was of eight colonies located in Southern Alberta. Five of the eight colonies were founded prior to 1944, two were founded in 1953 and one was founded in 1970. This statement of assets and capital equity is presented in Table 3.

Table 2

1971 PER ACRE INCOME & EXPENSE STATEMENT

Receipts	Colony Avg./Acre	F.B.A. Avg./Acre
Grain sales and Wheat Board Payments	$ 8.36	$ 4.62
Livestock sales	14.89	14.94
Livestock product sales	4.95	11.92
Interest and Dividend	1.09	0.00
Other Farm receipts	1.58	0.73
Total Receipts	$30.87	$32.21
Expenses		
Equipment expenses	$ 2.97	$ 2.67
Building repairs	0.52	0.56
Crop Expenses	1.73	1.72
Livestock expenses	8.06	11.64
Overhead expenses	1.67	1.65
Labor	0.00	2.14
Tools & Hardware	0.35	0.02
Cash rent	0.38	0.52
Misc. Expenses	1.12	0.25
Depreciation (Capital Cost Allow.)	4.72	3.62
Total Expenses	$21.52	$24.79
Profit (Receipts — Expenses)	$ 9.35	$ 7.42

TABLE 3

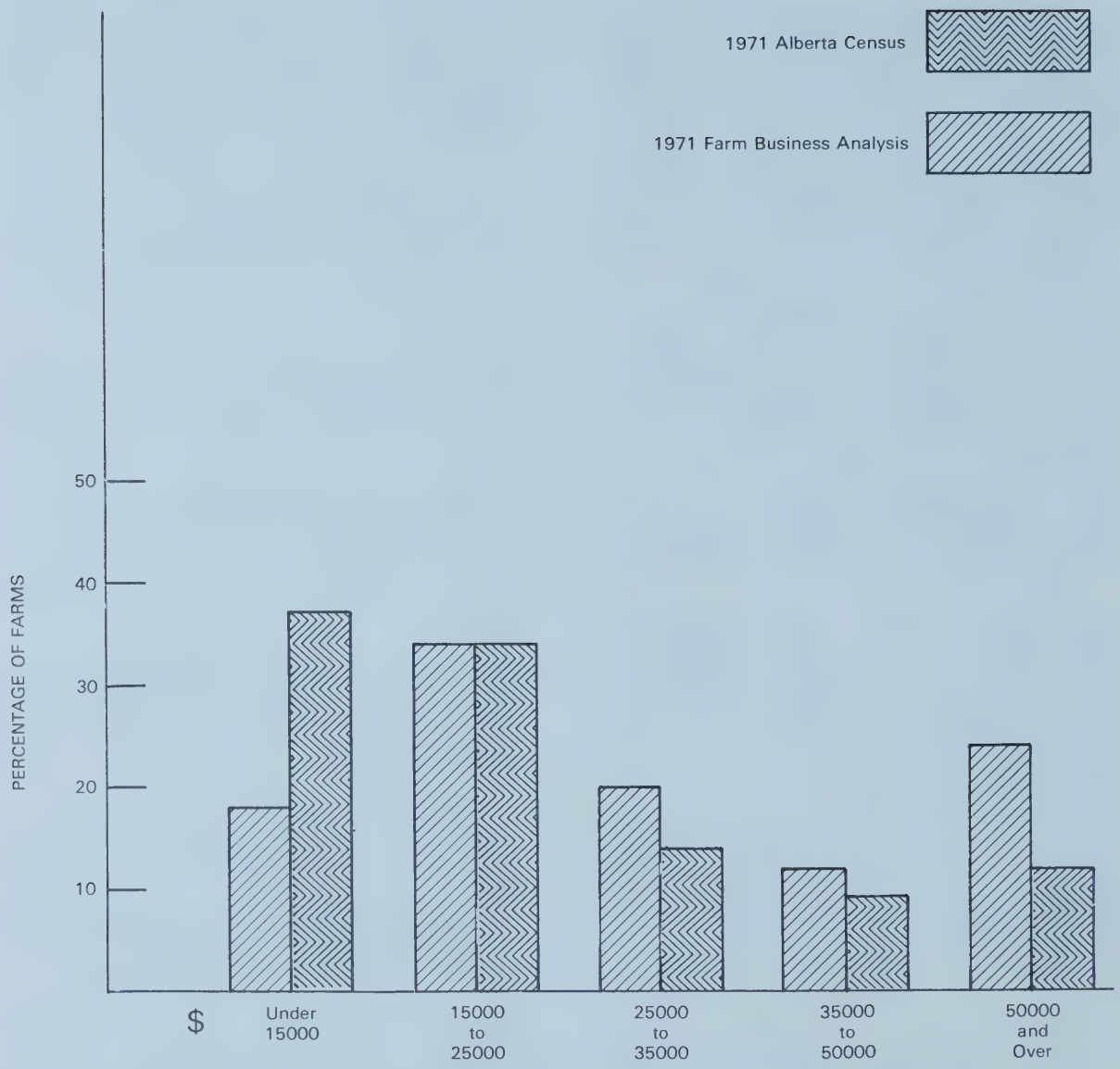
STATEMENT OF 1971 ASSETS AND CAPITAL EQUITY ON A CASH BASIS

ASSETS	
Current Assets	**Average of Eight Colonies**
Cash	$ 61,238
Investments	133,516
Loans Receivable	64,671
TOTAL CURRENT ASSETS	$ 259,425
***Fixed**	
Land Improvement & Equipment	$ 849,537
TOTAL ASSETS	$1,108,962
LIABILITIES	
Current	
Bank Indebtedness	$ 159,528
Loans Payable	26,775
TOTAL	$ 186,303
Mortgage Payable	55,452
CAPITAL	$ 867,207
TOTAL LIABILITIES	$1,108,962

*Book Value

TOTAL FARM RECEIPTS

Figure 1



Conclusion

1. The Hutterite farmers in Alberta do provide a sizeable amount of revenue to other farmers, agriculture business and to their local, provincial and federal governments.
2. If the Hutterites are not making their farm purchases locally, it is possibly a reflection on the management of some local businesses rather than it is of the colonies' non-supportive attitude.
3. The majority of Hutterite colonies, if not restricted, and other things being equal, would likely concentrate on the better available mixed farming land in Alberta. It is only on highly productive land that they will have the opportunity to diversify to the degree they wish. Some of the colonies have moved into poorer areas, although these colonies are likely finding it much more difficult to diversify successfully.
4. The Hutterites, by and large, are "good farmers". Some colonies have excellent farms, while others are average.
5. The Hutterite colonies, in view of the fact that they receive roughly the same income as other FBA farmers, and incur about the same expenditures, are able to expand because of their simple living and because of good farming practices.

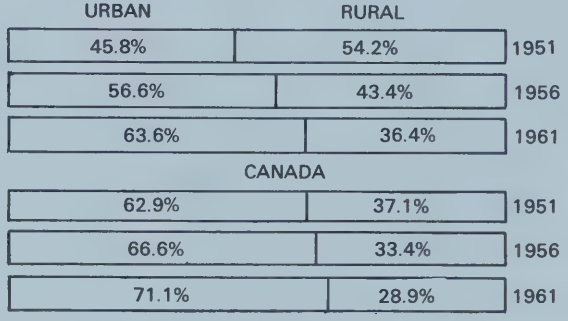
7. A CHANGING LIFE-STYLE — A CHANGING RURAL POPULATION

The factors which emerge in a population study of rural Alberta are the factors which are contributing to the change in the rural life-style. One aspect of the 1972 Committee's study involved investigating this situation.

The major indication of a changing rural life-style is the fact that the rural population, both in Alberta and in the rest of Canada, is decreasing. Information regarding both national and Alberta population trends, over the past twenty years, depicts this steady decline in the number of people who are residing in the rural areas. (See Graph I and Table I).

GRAPH I

URBAN AND RURAL POPULATION DISTRIBUTION
1951 - 1961



SOURCE: Oldman River Region Planning Commission — Regional Study 1.

TABLE I

POPULATION OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT AREAS AND RESIDENCE-SUBSISTENCE COMMUNITIES IN ALBERTA, 1951, 1961, 1971

Type of Area of Community	1951 No. of Units	1951 Population	1951 % of Alta.	1961 No. of Units	1961 Population	1961 % of Alta.	1971 No. of Units	1971 Population	1971 % of Alta.	Per Cent Change 1951 - 1961	Per Cent Change 1961 - 1971
INCORPORATED URBAN											
Cities											
Edmonton	1	159,631	30.8	1	276,018	38.9	1	435,503	51.2	79.3	61.0
Calgary	1	129,060		1	241,675		1	398,034			
Other Cities	5	53,266	5.7	7	101,722	7.6	8	130,567	8.0	91.0	28.4
City Total	7	341,957	36.5	9	619,415	46.5	10	964,104	59.2	81.1	55.6
Towns	67	100,336	10.6	90	210,091	15.8	102	210,610	12.9	109.4	0.2
Villages	135	44,136	4.7	159	50,345	3.8	167	45,034	2.8	14.1	-10.5
Total Towns & Villages	202	144,472	15.3	249	260,436	19.6	269	255,644	15.7	80.5	- 1.8
Incorporated Urban *(a)* Total	209	486,429	51.8		879,851	66.1		1,219,748	74.9	80.9	30.6
UNINCORPORATED URBAN											
National Defence *(b)* Communities	5	17,700	1.9	7	18,000	1.4	7	22,000	1.4	1.7	22.2
National Parks *(c)*	5	5,084	0.5	5	7,502	0.6	5	7,832	0.5	32.2	4.4
Hamlets of over 50 *(d)*	237	37,028*	3.9	289	45,365	3.4	291	49,912**	3.1	22.5	10.0
RURAL AREAS											
Counties	2	14,701	1.6	17	121,315	9.1	31	219,537	13.5		
Municipal Districts	54	304,873	32.5	31	210,345	15.8	18	96,847	5.9		
Improvement Districts	55	96,281	10.3	50	81,969	6.2	24	75,199	4.6		
Special Areas	4	12,552	1.8	3	8,799	0.7	3	7,974	0.5		
Total Rural Areas *(a)*	115	428,407	46.2	101	422,428	31.8	76	399,557	24.5	-1.4	-5.4
RURAL COMMUNITIES											
Metis Colonies *(e)*	9	1,511	0.2	8	2,000	0.2	8	2,851	0.2	32.4	42.6
Indian Bands *(f)*	41	14,659	1.6	41	20,931	1.6	41	29,978	1.8	42.8	43.2
Indian Reserves *(f)*	96			98			98	25,800	1.6		
Hutterite Colonies *(g)*	45	4,850	0.5	58	6,250	0.5	80	8,600 *(i)*	0.5	28.7	37.6
Hamlets Under 50 *(d)*	677	6,710	0.7	625	5,806	0.4	623	7,128 **	0.4	-13.5	22.7
Total Alta. Population *(h)*		939,501			1,331,944			1,627,874		41.8	22.2

Note: *1956 **1966

Sources:

(a) Alberta Dept. of Municipal Affairs (DMA), **Annual Reports,** 1951, 1961 and **The Alberta Municipal Counsellor,** 16(1), February — May, 1971.
(b) Approximation only; Canada Census for Suffield. Others, interview data.
(c) Canada Census.
(d) Tabulated from Alberta Provincial Planning Branch, DMA, Population 3, Unincorporated Communities, May 1970.
(e) Alberta Department Public Welfare/Dept. Health and Social Development, Annual Reports, 1951, 1961, 1971.
(f) **Indian Affairs Facts and Figures,** 1970 and Indian Affairs Branch, Edmonton.
(g) Extrapolated from Edwin L. Pitt, "The Hutterian Brethren in Alberta," M.A. thesis, Department of History, University of Alberta, 1949 and DMA list of Hutterite Colonies in Alberta, December 31, 1971.
(h) **Canada Census.**
(i) **cf.** Appendix "E" Table of Colony Populations.

(NOTE: We are grateful to Dr. B. Y. Card, of the Faculty of Education, University of Alberta, for allowing us to reproduce Table 1.)

This population shift, especially as it applies to the Alberta situation, can be examined as a result of four basic changes in the rural life-style. These are:

1. A decrease in manpower requirements for the effective operation of the agricultural industry.
2. An increase in education requirements, demanding centralized facilities, that are required for good farm management and also for employment in other areas.
3. An increase in consumer demands which can no longer be fulfilled by the "general store" concept of marketing.
4. The closing down of railway branch lines and rural post offices, which has led to the greater centralization of these smaller rural facilities into more urban aggregates.

The first of these factors is the most significant with regard to the present movement away from the farms. The Dominion Bureau of Statistics pointed out in 1968 that, although the manpower requirements and aggregate production had increased in both the goods producing and service industries, for the period 1949 — 1967, the agricultural industry had experienced a reduction by half in its manpower requirements. Yet, even with this decrease in manpower, the industry was able to increase its productivity by over 300%. (See Tables 2, 3 and 4, below)

TABLE 2 — Productivity Trend in Agriculture in Canada

(INDEX, 1949 = 100)

	1949	1967
Total Output	100	154
Persons Employed	100	51
Man-Hours	100	48
Output Per Person Employed	100	302
Output Per Man-Hour	100	320

Source: DBS, Daily, June 17, 1968

TABLE 3

Productivity Trend in All Goods-Producing Industries in Canada (including agriculture, other extractive industries, manufacturing, and construction)

(INDEX, 1949 = 100)

	1949	1967
Total Output	100	241
Persons Employed	100	104
Man-Hours	100	92
Output Per Person Employed	100	233
Output Per Man-Hour	100	262

Source: DBS, Daily, June 17, 1968

TABLE 4

Productivity Trends in Commercial Service-producing Industries in Canada

(INDEX, 1949 = 100)

	1949	1967
Total Output	100	222
Persons Employed	100	175
Man-Hours	100	153
Output Per Person Employed	100	127
Output Per Man-Hour	100	145

Source: DBS, Daily, June 17, 1968

As well as the fact that the number of people employed full-time in the agricultural industry has dropped, the incidence of part-time farmers has increased. This is most evident in the area of grain farming. In this particular area, improved mechanization requires that the farmer be engaged in farm work for only relatively short periods of time, allowing many of these formerly full-time farmers to take employment in other industries. Furthermore, it is because of convenient access to this second occupation that many of these former rural inhabitants have now moved to more urban settings.

The second aspect which affects a change in the rural life-style revolves around the increased educational demands of rural Albertans. These demands were first made in order to reduce the disparity between the quality of rural and urban education. They were also a result of the increased mechanization of the agricultural industry, and were meant to fulfil the skill requirements of modern farm management.

The mobility of the young people who have received their schooling in the light of these changes in the rural education system is obvious evidence of the rural-to-urban population shift. Their mobility is at first encouraged by the fact that their basic education is now taking place in more centralized schools in the larger rural centers.

After this initial step towards urbanization, these young people tend to leave the rural communities in order to further their education, or to seek employment. The amenities to be found in the urban life-style, which they have already experienced to some degree during their public school years, is a major attraction.

These urban amenities are also appealing to the adults in rural communities, especially in the area of consumer needs. In previous years, basic needs could be met almost fully by the rural community, augmented by a few supplements which could easily be provided by limited facilities available within the district. Now, in our more consumer-oriented society, the scope of basic needs has expanded. Correspondingly, the fulfillment of these needs has also expanded to the point of retail specialization. Although one may question the concept of increased consumption, it is, at this time, an accepted societal value and one cannot, therefore, criticize the rural population for wanting to participate.

It is this consumer consciousness which is the third factor of the change. The consumer demands, as they now exist, must often be met through the centralization and specialization of retail facilities. Rural inhabitants are willing to travel greater distances to larger, more centralized facilities, in order to meet their consumer needs.

The fourth aspect is also a result of the increased mobility of the rural population, which has led to a shift away from local retail outlets. This factor is the closing down of railway branch lines and post office outlets. Previously in Alberta, these two services were often the core of some rural communities. As the demands for extremely localized services of this nature disappeared, the federal government and the railways decided, that for the sake of more economic operation, these local facilities were no longer required. This action, in effect, pulled the backbone from many small rural communities, and therefore led to the demise of a number of them.

As a result of reduced agricultural manpower requirements, reduced rural service requirements, along with increased educational and consumer demands, the rural population is declining. It is a trend which is known to both the government and business sectors. (See Table 5) These aspects of change are evident not only in Alberta, but also in other rural areas of Canada. They are factors caused by a change in societal values, and can in no way be attributed to any single group within Alberta society.

TABLE 5

URBAN POPULATION AS PER CENT OF TOTAL POPULATION

Census Divisions	Actual*				Projected						
	1956	1961	1966	1969	1970	1974	1979	1984	1989	1994	1999
1	69	71	74	74	75	75	76	77	78	79	80
2	54	57	61	62	63	66	69	72	75	78	82
3	37	41	41	42	43	44	46	48	49	51	53
4	16	18	19	24	25	27	30	32	35	37	40
5	19	15	18	26	26	29	32	35	38	41	44
6	86	89	91	93	93	94	95	96	97	98	98
7	15	22	25	28	29	32	35	39	42	46	49
8	35	44	49	50	51	56	61	67	73	79	85
9	64	62	62	62	62	63	64	65	66	67	68
10	18	23	29	31	33	37	42	47	52	57	62
11	82	85	88	89	89	91	92	94	95	95	96
12	13	21	26	31	32	38	48	55	62	69	75
13	11	15	18	20	21	24	27	30	34	37	41
14	16	40	51	52	55	67	79	83	86	88	91
15	18	23	34	38	40	48	58	65	70	75	80
Province	57	63	68	71	72	75	79	82	85	87	90

**Source: 1956, 1961, 1966 — Census of Canda.*
1969 — Alberta Bureau of Statistics.

(Information obtained from Submission of the Staff of the Oil and Gas Conservation Board, June 1970 — In the Matter of the Gas Resources Preservation Act)

8. EDUCATION OF THE HUTTERIAN BRETHREN

The terms of reference for the 1972 Select Committee instructed the Committee to investigate the effects of the communal use of land on the "economic and social climate" of Alberta. While the terms of reference would justify a look at Hutterite education inasmuch as it affects the social climate of Alberta, the committee did not feel that the terms of reference would justify a complete investigation of Hutterite education. Such an investigation was recommended by the 1972 Committee. The following section, which is based on the Committee's findings, is necessarily limited in its scope.

The Hutterian Brethren have a good deal of respect for education, but they view it as a means to an end, rather than an end in itself. The Hutterites of the sixteenth century were among the best-educated persons in Europe. While illiteracy was common in Europe, it was unknown among the Hutterites, and many affluent parents would send their children to the Hutterites to be educated. Among the early Hutterites were doctors, teachers, and skilled craftsmen. Today, the Hutterites still use education as a means to the ends of spiritual understanding and economic survival. In this regard, the change in their education standards in comparison to the larger society has been less a result of the reduction of Hutterite education standards than a result of the larger society catching up to the Hutterite standard and surpassing it. *(146)*

Many Hutterites have come to view the Alberta school system with suspicion, because of the frequent statements by some school boards, educators, and politicians that the Hutterites will eventually be assimilated through the school system. The 1972 Select Committee took strong exception to this approach. Rather, it was hoped that the Alberta education system will be able to provide the Hutterites with a high standard of education so that they will be enabled to increase their proficiency at farming, and to enrich their understanding in whatever other areas are desirable.

An interesting approach towards Hutterite education was taken by the government in Manitoba. A Director of Special Services was appointed in the Department of Education about twenty years ago, and among his duties was the responsibility of supervising Hutterite schools. Partly as a result of his encouragement, Peter Maendel, a Hutterite from the New Rosedale Colony, attended the Teacher Training College in Tuxedo in preparation for teaching school in a Hutterite colony. Maendel complained that the Hutterite schools did not make education interesting enough for the children, and pointed out that scientific knowledge was important to the Hutterites, in that advanced farming methods made it more difficult to compete. By 1966, many Hutterite children in Manitoba were taking grades nine through ten by correspondence, with one student taking grade eleven. *(147)*

Many Hutterites with whom the Committee members spoke indicated that some of their young people had gone on to higher education, and in most cases, had left the Hutterite Church and become assimilated with the larger society. The Manitoba situation shows that this does not necessarily have to be the case. There was, according to the 1972 Report, no reason why some good educational procedures could not be adapted to the Hutterite life-style. It should not be imagined that certain stresses will not develop. It was felt, however, the benefit which the Brethren could gain from certain selective improvements would probably outweight the difficulties encountered. Indeed, with the advance of agricultural techniques, the survival of the Hutterite way of live could well depend on the quality of the Hutterite education. The 1972 Committee's study of Hutterite agricultural practices showed that, although the Hutterites were quick to adopt beneficial innovations when they learned about them, several of the colonies had not heard of some very important agricultural techniques.

A brief description of Hutterite education in Alberta would be in order. Between the ages of two-and-a-half and three, the Hutterite child begins to attend kindergarten. He plays with other children, eats with them, and learns prayers and songs in German. The kindergarten is supervised by an older woman in the colony.

At age six, the child begins German and English school. The English school is usually a public school maintained on the colony, and German school occurs in the same schoolroom for between one and three hours before, or before and after, the hours for the English school. In the German school, the German teacher, elected from among the members of the colony, instructs in Hutterian beliefs, and teaches Hutterian songs and the German language.

As of September, 1972, there were 71 public schools located on Hutterite colonies in Alberta. In addition, four colonies maintained private schools. Three new colonies had not yet separated from their parent colonies, and one colony, located partly in Saskatchewan, maintained its school in that province. The three breakaway colonies, Brocket, Monarch, and Felger, have been sending their children to the nearest public school. A group of former Huttterites, now calling themselves Mennonites, maintains a private school for correspondence courses from grades one to eleven.

It should be noted that the Athabasca colony at one time sent its children to the nearest centralized public school. However, when this fact became publicly known, there were reports that the Hutterites were being assimilated. In reaction to these reports, the children were withdrawn by the Hutterites to a public school on the colony.

All Hutterite colonies (whether they have private or public schools) pay the basic 30 mill school tax on their equalized assessment. All colonies pay any supplementary assessments which may be imposed by local authorities. In addition, according to Sections 122 and 123 of the School Act, the colonies may be assessed an extra levy if the local school trustees can show that by maintaining a public school on a Hutterite colony, they are incurring an added expense not covered by funds from the foundation program. As of June, 1972, eight colonies paid such additional levies. Under the present system, the 1972 Committee felt that there was no reason why any counties or school divisions should have to subsidize any extra costs which might result from maintaining a Hutterite public school.

According to the 1972 Committee, the advantages of a Hutterite school being public rather than private are threefold:

a) The school division or county supplies the teacher, which is a benefit to the Hutterite colony, as the colonies might have difficulty in locating a qualified teacher themselves.

b) School division or county education officials can supervise the colony school to ensure that a high standard of education is maintained.

c) The fact that the local authority maintains the school is an avenue which could promote co-operation between the colonies and the local authorities.

The 1972 Report suggests that the disadvantages of the Hutterite schools being public rather than private is that no other religious groups in the province are accorded the privilege of having their own public schools. Granted, the Hutterites are in a unique position, in that they live in villages of 70 to 150 people, in which schools can be established. However, although Hutterite schools are not "public schools" in the true sense of the word, the 1972 Committee felt that the solution to the situation would seem rather difficult, as private school regulations would probably not, at the present time, promote as high a standard of education as public school regulations.

As mentioned in Chapter 3, there have been some difficulties between the colonies and local education officials with regard to the school leaving age being 16 instead of 15. The problem is mainly a cultural one, since the Hutterite becomes an adult at the age of 15, and traditionally leaves both the German and English schools at that age. At the present time, the 1972 Committee concluded that no satisfactory solution had been found to this problem, nor was it likely there would be a quick easy solution. Accordingly the members recommended that when regulations were considered which vitally affected an important Hutterite tradition, there should be a good deal of consultation with the Hutterite elders as to how resultant problems could be solved before the problems occurred.

Although the 1972 Committee did not conduct an in-depth study of the present-day standards of Hutterite education, it concluded that there were some disturbing signs which suggested that the educational opportunities available to young Hutterites are not as great as they ought to be. In the 1950's, W. D. Knill undertook a comparative study of the achievement of Hutterite school children in the County of Warner compared to the achievement of chilren attending centralized public schools in the same county, and national achievement norms. He found that the grade four Hutterite students exceeded the American national achievement norms, but were behind the achievement standards of the other students in the County of Warner. From grade five on, the Hutterite students scored lower on the achievement tests then either the American national scores, or the scores for the other Warner students. Knill concluded that, while the native ability of the Hutterite students is quite normal, the scholarship of the Hutterite students after leaving grade four is substandard. *(148)*

The Hutterite Investigation Committee, in an analysis of questionnaires sent to twenty-five school superintendents who supervised forty Hutterite schools in 1959, concluded that the progress of the majority of Hutterite students was "far from good". *(149)* The reasons for the inferior standards of the Hutterite students often related to inferior teaching, and cultural conflicts. *(150)* One such cultural conflict is that, because of his or her anticipated position in the colony, and the seeming irrelevance of what is being taught in school in relation to this role, the child often loses interest in school, usually some time after completing grade four. Another such conflict is the suspicion which sometimes develops between the colony Minister or German teacher and the public school teacher, if the Hutterites feel that the teacher is trying to undermine any Hutterian beliefs. A third source of conflict has resulted from the dual purpose of the school-church building. The 1972 Committee concluded that these problems were not insoluable, but that they required an enlightened and symphathetic approach if they were to be dealt with successfully.

There are some indications that the Hutterite school concept may contain some admirable innovations. For one thing, the Hutterite schooling in both English and German conforms with what the Hutterites themselves perceive to be their education requirements for a spiritual and agricultural life-style. Secondly, the Hutterite school would seem to fit, to some extent, the concept of shared facilities in "community schools". The concept of the community use of schools "suggests that educational and recreational facilities needn't be considered separately at all — and that they should be planned for joint occupancy at the construction stage . . ." *(151)* According to the 1972 Report, if religion were considered an important community activity, then a Hutterite school was a good example of one type of "community school".

If the principles of tolerance for minority cultures and right to equal educational opportunities are both accepted, as the 1972 Report recommended, it should be recognized that to apply both these principles to Hutterite colonies will require ingenuity, wisdom, and careful planning and research. The chips cannot be left to fall where they may, or both the education of Hutterite children and the Hutterite way of life, and therefore the "social climate" of Alberta, will eventually suffer. The Report concluded with the fact that since Hutterite schools are a unique institution in the province they required that they should be treated with a unique approach, based on careful research.

The 1972 Committee therefore recommended that the government conduct an in-depth study of the education of Hutterite children, in order to shed light on the present situation, and indicate methods for improvement.

Table 1

ENROLMENT IN HUTTERITE PUBLIC SCHOOLS (September, 1971) *(152)*

Grade	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	TOTAL
Boys	124	125	104	101	91	105	95	69	29	1	844
Girls	110	108	90	87	87	79	85	73	16	1	736
Total	234	233	194	188	178	184	180	142	45	2	1,580

CONCLUSION

As a result of the information contained in the Report of the Select Committee of the Legislature 1972, on Communal Property, and the subsequent Repeal of the Communal Property Act on March 1, 1973, mechanisms have been set up to assist in the orderly establishment of Hutterite colonies.

The two Hutterian groups, the Dariusleut and the Lehrerleut, have each set up a Committee of Elders consisting of three of the Senior Ministers in the group. Each individual colony making a proposal to purchase land, either for expansion of the existing colony or for the establishment of a daughter colony, sends its proposal along with pertinent information to the Committee of Elders for its group. The Committee of Elders in turn passes the information on to a Liaison Office located in the offices of the Special Advisory Committee on Communal Property.

The Chairman of the Special Advisory Committee on Communal Property heads the Liaison Office and in that capacity is known as the "Liaison Officer on Communal Property."

The function of the Liaison Office is essentially one of public relations. Through this function, it is hoped that any misunderstandings between Hutterian and non-Hutterian communities can be lessened. The Brethren are also encouraged to attend to their own public relations. In addition, the office collects information concerning Hutterite colonies, including social science studies and information on land holdings, and answers enquiries from citizens, schools, and organizations. If complaints are received, each complaint is investigated in co-operation with the Elders of the group concerned. If it is decided that remedial action is necessary, recommendations or suggested remedial actions are forwarded to those concerned.

At joint meetings between the two committees of elders and the liaison officer, proposals for colony expansion are discussed using available information. This information includes letters from communities and that obtained from meetings with delegations from various communities. The Joint Committee of **Dariusleut** and **Lehrerleut** elders then decides on approval or disapproval of the proposal. In the case of a colony proposing a large land purchase, the approval may be conditional upon the Liaison Officer making an investigation.

In giving advice to the Hutterian Elders, the Liaison Officer may suggest ways in which a colony could make better use of existing land, particularly if certain difficulties are foreseen in the purchase of land in a given area.

The Joint Committee of Elders may also decide on the public relations work necessary in connection with a proposal.

Initial reports of the operation of the Joint Committee indicate that the Liaison Office is receiving excellent co-operation from the Hutterites. This includes not only the deliberations of the Joint Committee itself, but in addition, discussions with individual colonies dealing with problems or concerns. Frequently it is necessary for the Liaison Office staff to spend considerable time at the colonies to discuss these problems.

To provide overall advice to the Government on the whole question of land use in the Province as well as advice about communal property in particular, the Government has set up the Special Advisory Committee on Communal Property. This Committee is composed of representatives from farm groups, rural municipalities, school trustees and Hutterites, with a full-time chairman. The Chairman, and Liaison Officer, is Arnold W. Platt. He was appointed by the Government because of his extensive involvement in agriculture and agricultural organizations. The Special Advisory Committee meets less frequently than the Joint Committee of Elders. The former discusses such matters as guidelines for the operation of the Liaison Office, including the examination of the question of land use throughout the Province and general questions of public relations, and guidelines for colony land purchases, such as size of colonies and distance between colonies.

During the meetings of the Special Advisory Committee, the Chairman gives an up-to-date account of the operation of the Liaison Office as well as a report on particular disputes which may have arisen between Hutterites and other rural residents.

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